

The THE *Life of*
HISTORY

OF

Athanasius,

WITH
The RISE, GROWTH,
and DOWN-FALL

OF THE

ARIAN HERESIE

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L O N D O N,
Printed by D. Maxwell, 1664.

Edmund

1662



Imprimatur,

Ex Aed. Sab.

23 Nov.

1662.

Geo. Stradling S. T. P.

Rev. in Christo Pat.

Gilb. Episc. Lond. &

Sac. Domest.



W O D

Maxwell

THE PREFACE.

P*Lutarch* writing concerning lives, said, *That he did but touch upon matters of action, because he wrote Lives, and not Histories*; but in this Narrative I cannot yoke my pen to that strict rule; because *Athanasius* his endowments cannot well be discovered but by his actions and sufferings; nor they considered without the concurrence of the actions of his contemporaries, friends and enemies, fellow-labourers, and Confessors, with his Antagonists and Persecutors; which necessarily draws me many times into a by-path concerning Arianisme, to find out *Athanasius*, where the neglect of Writers have left him out of mind.

I shall have much occasion to glance upon the Principles of Religion concerning the Sacred Trinity, not meddling with the particular disputes which would be voluminous;

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and bring things into question (which blessed be the Lord) are now out of question, but only noting the points then controverted; whereby will appear the sottish ignorance of natural understanding in the Mystery of the God-head; and the Glory of Gods grace, in revealing the same, and carrying *Athanasius* his Faith and Spirit, and person, through a raging Sea of temptation and persecutions, to a quiet Haven, notwithstanding his enemies stormed upon him even to his grave.

For the truth of the matter of this Narrative, I refer to the credit of the several Authours quoted thereunto; but as to the order thereof, I confesse I relie not much upon any one of them; some of whom not at all pretending, and none of them attaining unto such a method as will give any satisfaction to an intelligent Reader. Non can I satisfie him or my self in some passages, yet I have done what I can to make the particulars consist together, by comparing circumstances in several relations, with what I find in the Writings of *Athanasius*, *Nazianzen*, and *Basil*, who were interested in some of *Athanasius* his affairs, and observed more. *Eusebius* also helped me, being himself contemporary

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contemporary with *Athanasius*; but living remote, had but a dim light into many things. But the Centuries and *Baronius* gave me the greatest aid, albeit I found the later willing enough to distort some passages, to make his Readers believe that the Bishop of *Rome*, in the judgement of *Athanasius* was Universal Bishop. And yet *Athanasius* himself a little before his death writing to the Roman Bishop, gives him no bigger title *Dilecto Damaso Episcopo Magna Roma*, to the beloved *Damasus* Bishop of great *Rome*.

Both Greeks and Latines have left to Posterity several Narratives of *Athanasius* his Life, and *Nazianzen* an Encomium of his Person, giving this reason for it, *Athanasium laudans, virtutem laudo; virtutem laudans Deum laudabo*; whiles he praises *Athanasius* in his excellencies, he praises God; and therefore in presenting my own Nation with the like in its own language (though thus insufficient in its composure) I do endeavour to serve the providence of God, who it seems would have this mans life made known; and to offer a memorial of Gods great goodness, who so long ago provided *Athanasius* to be a mirrour to reflect

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the dear light concerning the Blessed Trinity in Unity upon these later ages; and lastly to leave a caveat to my dear Countrey to hold these fundamentals concerning the Trinity, in constant adoration, especially in these dayes, wherein ungodly rapes are so ordinarily committed upon them by the conceits of seeming reason, and thereby the Holy Spouse of Christ divided into small pieces, and scattered through the Nations.

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The Life of ATHANASIUS.

C A P. I.

The State of the Government of the Roman Empire in the beginning of the fourth Century.

BEfore I bring *Athanasius* upon the Stage, I *Shall* must premise somewhat concerning the Stage itself; I mean the condition of affairs of that Age wherein *Athanasius* was born, without which, many of the ensuing occurrences will not be clearly understood by every Reader. The time of *Athanasius* his birth was about the beginning of the fourth Century of years after our Lord Jesus Christs Incarnation; that Century being of remarkable observation for great changes relating to the Church of God. For although the Church had now out-reached the bounds of the Roman Empire, and gained the ends of the Earth, subsisting immediately under the Wings of the

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Almighty

Almighty God, and as to all inferiour and civil power independant; yet did it spread most within the bounds of the Empire, where it grew in repute, even to the envy, if not terrour, of the Emperours themselves, who endeavoured to keep it low by persecution, until the time of *Constantine* the Great, in whose time the Church did meet with the first great change, which was for the better.

Self. 2.

For the Empire had hitherto been governed by heathens, who ruled by no Law, but that in their own brest, which was enmity to Christs Kingdome, as appeared in those ten famous, or rather infamous Persecutions; but the Kingdome of Christ having within three hundred years, notwithstanding all opposition, spread like leaven throughout the World; about the time of *Athanasius* his birth had gained the day of Heathenisme, and possessed the Imperial Crown, in the person of *Constantine* the Emperour, so as he that formerly by the light of Nature, was bound to employ his power in the maintaining of the honour of his gods then owned by him, is now much rather by the Law of God (the rule of all Civil and Ecclesiastical power) bound to imploy the same in maintaining the tenour of the True Living God, and thereby is become greater then the greatest of the *Casars*, honoured with all the powers of Government, Military, Civil and Ecclesiastical, and with that high trust of protecting the Churches in holinesse of Life, and purity of Doctrine and Worship, according to the Gospel, by a divine right that no power on earth can take away from the Christian Magistrate, nor
acquitt

acquit him of before God. This was one change that these times produced in the power of the Magistrate.

A second change was in the government of the Church, for the watchfulness of professors over their own hearts, suffered pride to bud and bring forth two evils, no lesse Devilish then their Mother. For first, professors affecting the repute of extraordinary insight in mysteries of Divinity, begin to fancy sublime doctrines, and to be tellers of news, of New Lights; and others no lesse affecting curiosity, become their admirers and followers: nor was there formerly any power on earth to give a stop to such extravagancies; For excommunication was become but a harmlesse noise in repute of many professors, because the defection was so great, that excommunication turned not men into the state of heathens and publicans, *but from a Church strait laced, to a Church unbraced*; and thus Heresies flowed in again in the third Century, more then formerly they had done: Which made that holy man *Basil* to mourn exceedingly, and entring into a deep scrutiny for the Cause, could find none other then, *Propter unius magni veri & solius omnium regni contemptum*, the contempt of Christs Kingdome, men chusing rather *contra Dominum imperare*, to be without rule, then to be under Gods Rule. Self. 3.

This in continuance bred a second evil no lesse dangerous for the Church, then the other was derogatory to Gods honour, which was a tide of Schisme. For the first Churches in the Primitive times after the Apostolick Times expired, were Self. 4.

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governed in their Atomes of Congregations gathered, not out of other Christian Congregations, as now-a-days, but out of the heathens; and they at the first consisted by the rule, partly of the written word, and partly of Apostolical Tradition. And yet were those not independant, as now the gathered Churches are; but in cases of difficulty they had recourse to association of Councils, who did not onely advise, but impose upon the Churches, and they also conscientiously did submit to conclusions determined by such Councils. But in after ages, when the Canon of the Scripture was compleated, the rule then left was the Scripture, Apostolical traditions and conclusions of Councils, assembled upon occasion according to the ancient Custome; unto which the Churches did still submit, so long as the same were according to the Word of God.

Self. 5. But as touching the execution of such conclusions, the care was left by the Presbyters to some one of their number, who had thereby the oversight of several Congregations within one Town or Precinct, as the Congregations were more or fewer: and unto these Overseers about these times the title of Bishop was given by way of eminency; although it seems to me it was not strictly observed, till the Council at *Sardica*, whereof hereafter.

Self. 6. This Presbyter thus advanced, was ordinarily some Pastor in a principal City or Town, from whence the Countrey received their first instruction in the profession of Religion; and therefore the Church there might in some sence be stiled, *The Mother Church*; and he became so far intrusted by the
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The Life of Achanasius,

the Pastors and Congregations, derived therefrom; as to be allowed to advise in ordinary emergencies; and in continuance by acceptance amongst the people, gains such respect as his advice becomes unquestionable; and at last Authoritative. For that advice which to the wiser sort, such as the Pastors are, seems to be eminent, to the inferiour sort of the Congregation will soon attain the esteem of an Oracle.

Such was the government of the Churches in *Seft. 7.* those dayes, so long as the Grace of God went along in preserving unity of the Churches in their associations for council, which was till about the beginning of the fourth Century. For though errors and heresies were even from the beginning of the Primitive Times; yet they never prevailed to maintain a publick Schisme in or against Councils, till about the beginning of *Constantines* Reigne, at which time heresies grew so boisterous as to put up head against Councils, and no means now left to vindicate the same, it pleased God for the maintaining of Unity and Purity of the Doctrine of Religion, to raise up *Constantine* to own the *Orthodox Doctrine*: Who accordingly endeavoured to give a stop to the growth of Heresie and Schisme, though sometimes in an extraordinary way, crossing the liberties, as well of such as were truly conscientious, as of others that were but pretenders thereto; himself professing that he won- *Soc. lib. 1*
dred at the madnesse of the Christians, who here- *cap. 4.*
in fall short of the Morality of the Heathen Phi- *Epist.*
losophers, who disagree in multitudes of particular *Cor. st. ad*
opinions, and yet esteem one another for their *Achan. &*
Arrian.

Sect. 8.

Learning, without breach of Common Charity.

And *Constantine* began this work well, but in progresse mistaking the right way to the end (as will appear hereafter) he did not prevail no further then to give a check to the present Schisme, which nevertheless afterwards taking more root, kept its possession in the Churches, and still doth, and will continue, so long as its original sin of pride doth or can peep forth; although the zeal and industry of the Civil power may keep it very low. For as God hath determined that every member of the Church shall live in a continual war within himself; so also shall the Church have Heresies and Schismes, that they which are approved, may be made manifest. But above all the rest of the Schismes arising within the Church, wherewith it hath been tried, two especially have exceeded; the one befalling in the Eastern Churches, which was that of *Arius*, who indeavoured to pull Christ from his Throne, by denying of his Divine Nature. The other befel in the West, I mean that of the Papal Supremacy, with its appurtenances. The first was iniquity bare-faced, the second iniquity in a Mistery; the second was a complement of the first, and the first the fore-runner of the second; and *Arius* himself therefore by *Constantine* and by the Orthodox Churches, in his first rising, is called the fore-runner of Antichrist.

Athan. A.
pol. 2. Soc.
lib. 1. cap. 3.
Epist. A.
lexand.

C A P. II.

of Arius and the Arian Heresie in its
Original.

THE Arian Doctrine, though in the issue branched into many errors, yet all in the main tended against the Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ; some of that Sect plainly denying the same, others by implication, and being of more moderate temper than the rest, seemed to make the difference but small; and might well be reconciled by the change but of one letter of the Greek Alphabet, which if taken from the word, signifies that Christ is of the same essence with the Father, which the Orthodox did assert: But if put into the word, signifies that Christ is of like essence with the Father, which the moderate Arians did maintain; but the Orthodox would neither add one letter to their faith, nor would the Arian part with one letter from theirs; and so the difference continued, and that so successfully on the Arian part, that within the space of one thirty years, Basil complained that the whole world was turned Arian.

Sect. 1.

ὁμοούσιος

ὁμοούσιος

This Heresie had its denomination from Arius; not that the opinions were originally his, for opinions of this nature were as ancient as Ebion, and taken up by others after him; and they were received by Arius from Artemas; and even when Arius was but young, that Leaven had gained

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Athan.

Epist. ad
Synod.

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Soc. lib. 6.
cap. 12.
Athan.
Orat. cont.
Arian.

amongst many greater men then *Arius* was; nor did that Sect own the name of *Arius* till *Constantinus* his time, but more ordinarily are called by historians *Eusebians*, from *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, who was their great patron in *Constantines* time. Nor were themselves very confident in any of their Doctors opinions, and therefore did endeavour to derive their doctrine from Antiquity, and would have claimed *Origen* to be their Patron, but *Athanasius* and others decryed that conceit. At the first peeping forth the Arian doctrine was very odious to the Churches; and therefore the speedy growth thereof shewed much of divine wrath and judgement. At length it is baptised into the name of *Arius*; either because he was the first that founded and gathered Churches upon that Principle; or because he was the principal defender of that assertion by disputes, and therein opposed the famous Council at *Nice*; the same being the first general Council, and therefore the undertaking more notorious. And thus the fame of these new or newly revived doctrines is pinned upon the fame of *Arius*, and that, upon his parts and education.

Self. 3.

Euseb.
Hist. lib. 2.
cap. 16.

This *Arius* was born, as *Epiphanius* saith, in *Libia*, but most writers say in *Alexandria*, the chief City in those dayes, of all the Land of *Egypt*, and of principal repute for this, that the first Christian Church of all those parts was planted there by the Evangelist St. *Mark*: Where also was a Colledg or School of great Antiquity and fame for humane learning, and in that City Religion had so far prevailed, as *Epiphanius* saith, that in those dayes

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Epiphan.
lib. 2.
Tom. 2.
Herc. f. 63.

Niceph.
lib. 3. cap.
II.
Achan.
Orat. cont.
Arian.
Epiphan.
lib. 2.
Tom. 2.
Heresf. 68.

session of the Gospel ; and as some others , so himself , to save his skin , became relapsed , and offered incense to the Heathen Gods ; and when the heat of persecution was past , he assaied to joyn himself in communion with the Alexandrian Churches again , but *Peter* the Bishop did not suddenly admit him thereunto : which *Meletius* took so to heart , that himself with many more for his sake , made a separation from the Alexandrian Church ; and joyned in private communion apart by themselves , and from thenceforth stile themselves the Church of *Martyrs* , and the Alexandrian Church call themselves the *Catholique Church* ; and these two parties so far disown one another , that they refuse to joyn in prayer one with other. And thus this Church of *Martyrs* bring into the Church the first ill president of the peoples usurping Judicature in the government of the Church , and power to determine matters concerning the same. And also are the first example of a separation or schisme meerly upon that point of Church government , without any difference at all in any point of Doctrine : But the issue is yet much worse , for from schisme they grew into enmity , and joyn with the heathens in raising persecution against the Alexandrian Churches , wherein *Peter* the good Bishop of *Alexandria* died honourably a Martyr. "Separation
"not well grounded on pure Love to the Truth, will
"end in hatred and persecution of the same , if not
"timely prevented.

This Schisme of the Meletian Church of *Martyrs* thus begun , continued about six and thirty years , and mingling with the Arians , became fast friends

Athan.
Apol. 2.

Self. 5.
Baron.
An. 306.
Num. 44.

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II

Friends to them, and at length wholly Arian. For *Arius* had been now born in *Alexandria*, and was educated at School at *Antioch*, where he attained a competency of humane learning, and having a natural readinesse of wit and languages, grew into fame for Philosophical disputes; and then studied Divinity, rather to serve his repute, then to save his soul, and therefore ever made that to stoop to his reason, and both it and that to advance his fame. After that he was thus furnished, he returns to *Alexandria*, and there behaved himself so well, as *Peter* the Bishop of *Alexandria* had made him one of his Deacons; but he being acquainted with some of *Meletius* his disciples, seemed so much to pity their separation, that he falls into dislike of the Bishops austerity; and under that pretence separates himself also, and becomes a member of *Meletius* his Church, and so continued till *Peters* Martyrdome. After whom *Achillas* being elected Bishop of *Alexandria*, *Arius* returns and makes application to the Church of *Alexandria*, and was restored into communion with them again, and so continued, till he became one of the Presbyters there, and so continued there till *Achillas* died. And *Alexander* being elected Bishop of *Alexandria* in his stead, there appeared some Marks of competitorship in *Arius*, who failing of his expectation, became discontented, and grew sick of the itch of disputing some principles of Religion, which commonly he undertook in the concourse of people; according as by *Nazianzen* is observed of Hereticks, *Mysticas questiones spectante vulgo tractant*, they debate hard points in the presence

Niceph.
lib. 8. cap. 9

Theod.
lib. 1. cap.
13. 2.
Socrum. 1.
lib. 1. cap.
14.

Epiphan.
lib. 2.
Tom. 1.
Her. 69.

presence of the vulgar, well knowing that they understand little beyond common sense; less beyond common reason, and least of all in the deep Mysteries of Religion; and so are the Heretick disputers in a manner sure of the vote of the people before hand; especially in the principles concerning the Holy Trinity, wherein *Arius* had not only the ignorance of the times to favour him, but the corruption of nature, and the Devil and all to help against the true understanding of them. And therefore its the less wonder if *Arius* had soon gained seven hundred women, who adored virginity in a profession of holiness, besides seven Presbyters and twelve Deacons, to be of his Sect, before that *Alexander* the Bishop did take any notice thereof. At length *Meletus* finding some of his own Church tainted with these new opinions, and that *Arius* was the Seeds-man, he discovered him to *Alexander*, who thereupon endeavoured to settle the minds of men by preaching the truth, and thereby to obviate the further spreading of these errors. *Arius* cannot endure this, he tells the people that their Bishop doth maintain the Doctrine of *Sabellius* (although it was notoriously known to be a calumny) and openly appears in opposition to the Bishop: So as now he sees it necessary to call a Council Provincial; that is of such as were joyned with the Alexandrian Churches; as well to justify himself and his Doctrine against the aspersions of *Arius*, as to determine concerning *Arius* himself.

Sect. 6.

This was the way indeed had it been well pursued, but in the managing of this Council,
Alexander

Alexander who had the Directory, to avoid suspicion of partiality, carried himself so calmly, as the Arian party were rather emboldened then discouraged. For although the Council determined against the Arian tenets, and inhibited *Arius* from further publishing such rotten principles, yet when they were to subscribe their conclusions, *Arius* and about ten others refuse to adjoyn their Subscriptions, of which number five were Presbyters, and five were Deacons. Many of the people nevertheless adhered to them principally for the sake of *Arius*, and not out of any depth of understanding that they had in his principles. For *Arius* was a person of a goodly stature, serious aspect, plausible carriage, winning behaviour, smooth and flattering language, arguments sufficient to lead about unstable souls, especially such as women ordinarily are; and had *Arius* his life been as holy, and his carriage more humble, he might also have led after him others that were better principled. But he was vehemently suspected for uncleanness, and therefore taxed even by *Constantine* himself upon occasion of his ordinary society with women, whom he called his Virgins, and of his wanton book which he called his *Thalia*, and which was condemned by the Council at *Nice*, and burnt by *Constantine's* command. *Arius* thus refusing to subscribe the determinations of the Alexandrian Council, is together with his Complices ejected from their several places, and from Communion with the Church; yet are they nowhit discouraged thereby, but rather encouraged: for now they are looked upon as Martyrs, persecuted Ministers, sufferers for conscience; by many

Sozom.
lib. 1. cap.

Epiphan.
Ibid.

Soc. lib. 1.
cap. 6.
Sozom.
lib. 1. cap.
20.

Euseb. *Vit.*
Const.
cap. 4.

Self. 7.

Sozom.
lib. 1. cap.
11. 14. &
lib. 7. cap.
19.
Niceph.
lib. 8. cap.
11.

many pitied, by more the more honoured; the people flock after *Arius*, admire him, vilifie such as are not of his opinion, as dull and unlearned, and at length swell into tumults and publique outrages, not sparing the Emperours own station; and thus are they a *Cordolium* to Christians, a sport to the heathens, and a derision and scorn in the publique Theaters.

The proceedings of this Council at *Alexandria* became famous, and *Alexander* the Bishop, to avoid false representations, by Letters to several Churches, makes relation of the particulars, which Letters according to the opinions of men, are diversly censured: And it being observed that the Arian party neverthelesse still gained, partly by their own influence, but more through the ignorance of teachers not well grounded in such Misteries, *Alexander* the Bishop ordered that no Presbyter in *Alexandria* shall preach, but such as shall be specially licenced thereunto. *Arius* seeing the winde thus against him, turns head and gets into *Palestina*; where he meets with more calm weather, and there he gains liberty to gather Congregations, and to preach, as he and his party had elsewhere done: Neverthelesse they tell him that he must submit to *Alexander* the Alexandrian Bishop, and gain Communion with him; and this shewed the Churches were under a rule beyond which they would not go, although in compassion to *Arius*, they went too far. Yet is not *Arius* satisfied with his liberty upon such terms, he repairs to *Nicomedia*, to Bishop *Eusebius*, who had bin his acquaintance at School at *Amosch*

Antioch, and relateth to him how he was dealt with at *Alexandria*. *Eusebius* shews him favour, and goes to the Emperour *Constantine* then at *Nicomedia*, and acquainted him with the proceedings of the Council at *Alexandria* in the worst manner that he could; as if it were a ruled case, that the Civil Magistrate becoming once Christian, had authority in the Councils of the Church. The Emperour hearkens to *Eusebius*, and thenceforth *Eusebius* grows into repute of a Favourite and a Councillor to the Emperour in Church Matters; and in all such cases men flock to him as to their Mediatory Angel; and being thus lifted up, he thinks his word may prevail with *Alexander* the *Alexandrian* Bishop, more then *Alexanders* religion; and therefore he writes to him, and advises him to passe by the matter concerning *Arius*, and to re-admit him and his party into Church Communion again; but unto other Churches he writes to stir them up to with-stand the proceedings of the *Alexandrian* Church. And amongst others he writes to the *Meletians*, which he might well have spared, for they were more forward therein then himself. Herèby the Sectarian party grew more strong, but not one iota more holy, for they proceeded upon the principle of faction and not of conscience.

Now begins the glory of *Constantines* Christian government to wane, and fall short of expectation, by the rising clouds of error; he sees it, and it vexeth him at the heart. *Silvester* also Bishop of *Rome* (to whom also the Emperour did give ear for his advice in affairs of the Church) is no lesse afflicted

Set. 8.

flicted at the news hereof; and by his advice a general Council is called at *Alexandria*, whereunto he sends *Hossius* Bishop of *Corduba* in *Spain*, with his Letters. This Bishop took his journey by *Constantinople*, and finding the Emperour at *Nicomedia*, is received by him courteously, and furnished with the Imperial Letters Authoritative, to the Council at *Alexandria*, besides other Letters, amongst which was one written to *Alexander* the Bishop and *Arius* to this purpose, telling them,
 " That He took notice of their difference, that the
 " matters were misterious, not easie to be explained to the people, much lesse to be understood
 " by them: That their Faith was one and the
 " same: That their differences were *parva levicula exigua*, small petty trifles: That their question was a foolish question: That the peace of
 " the people ought to prevail with them, if not
 " to think the same, yet to abstain from publique
 " contests: That otherwise it would make his
 " Reigne troublesome, and his life irksome. That
 " he was coming to them, but was advised and
 " told that he could never endure to see, what is
 " so grievous to him to hear. He prays them to
 " study peace and unity, and forbear further strifes,
 " that he may have cause of joy in his meeting
 " with them. And thus the Emperour acted the part either of a young Christian, that knew not the value of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity; or of his favorite *Eusebins*, by whose spectacles he looked upon the affaires of the Eastern Churches; or of a politick Emperour, that for maintaining of peace would adventure his pen to declare that
 which

which was contrary to what his mind did conceal. But all is one, though *Hossius* be thus instructed and armed; though himself be a holy, learned and grave man; though so highly esteemed of, as to be a Moderator in that Council at *Alexandria*; yet could he not effect the great work that he came for. Certain matters concerning *Ischyas* and *Coluthus* were determined. *Coluthus* having acted as a Bishop, and was none, is reduced into the degree of a Presbyter; and *Ischyas* bearing himself in the office of a Presbyter, is declared a lay person. But as touching the difference between *Alexander* and *Arius*; the latter was proud, the other stout; so as neither *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome*, nor *Constantine* the Emperour, nor *Hossius* his wisdom and zeal could ought prevail, but *Hossius* returns without successe in that matter.

Athan.
Apol. 2.
Baron.
An. 319.

CAP. III.

of Athanasius his education and his taking
the Office of a Deacon.

THUS is the Scene fitted for *Athanasius* to enter upon, and to act his part as on a troublesome Sea, wherein the storm is but in its rising through the vapouring tenets of *Arius* now blown abroad; about which time *Athanasius* was now born at *Alexandria* also. For the Historians agree that he was a boy when *Alexander* was Bishop of *Alexandria*. His first appearing to

Self. 1.

Ruffin.

Hist. lib. 1.

cap. 14.

Soc. lib. 2.

cap. 11.

Sozom. lib.

2. cap. 16.

the World they say was in this manner. It was a custome observed by the Catholique Church of *Alexandria*, to hold a yearly Solemnity of feasting and thanksgiving unto God upon that day of the Moneth that their Bishop *Peter* suffered Martyrdome; and upon that occasion assembled themselves in the publick Church at *Alexandria*; and that *Alexander* now Bishop of *Alexandria*, did on that day carry on the work of the publick worship of God, by prayer and preaching of the Word of God; which work being accomplished in the publick, they repaired to their several places of mutual solace one with another; and that *Alexander* the Bishop being also come to the place where he was to dine with the Elders and the chief men, and staying some time till the company were come together, he chanced to look out at the window towards the Sea side, and saw a company of boys playing together upon the Shore, who it seems had been at the publick Congregation, and had observed the Bishops manner of Baptising, and were now in a sporting imitation of the Bishop in those Ceremonies. The Bishop at the first observing nothing but what was innocent sport and pastime, smiled thereat; but when he saw them intent upon a work that seemed like that of Baptisme, he called some of the Elders to the window, pointed them to the boys in their pastime, and desired the boys should be sent for; who being come, he asked them what they had been doing at the Sea-side. The boys at the first being abashed, were silent, till being further urged by the Bishop, they answered, that *Athanasius* there present was chief amongst

amongst them at the game, and that he had baptized some of them, who had not formerly been initiated, and that he had made others of them Presbyters, and others Deacons, to attend upon him in that service. *Alexander* further asked the m, what the Bishop of that play asked any of them, or did? and they answered that he had asked of them certain questions, which together with their answers they told the Bishop; and that *Athanasius* did give them further instructions, how they should behave themselves for the future, and so told the Bishop the whole matter. *Alexander* finding that the boys had proceeded so exactly in what was done as touching the manner of the work, concluded with the Presbyters, that the parties so baptized ought not to be re-baptized, but what they thought further necessary to be done herein *Alexander* the Bishop did perform: and then he sent for the parents of *Athanasius*, and of other the children that were actors herein, and charged them to educate their children, and fit them for the calling of a Minister: and more especially he charged *Athanasius* his Parents to bring him up in learning, and to bring him from time to time to the Bishop, that he might see to his proficiency; which was done accordingly. *Baronius* conceiveth *Athanasius* to be now about twelve years old; and the Historians farther say, that *Athanasius* exceedingly profited in learning, and was well grounded in Grammar and Philosophy, and (as *Baronius* observeth out of *Severus*) he was educated in the knowledge of the Law; yet these kinds of learning he took up as it were by the way, and in subserviency to his main

Baron. An.
311. num.
63.

Nazian.

Encom.

Theod. lib.

1. cap. 8.

☞

end., which was the study of Divinity ; in order whereunto he had such teachers as were holy men, and approved by suffering for the truth even to Martyrdome. But in the study of Divinity he was so industrious, especially in reading of the Bible, that he had the Books both of the New and Old Testaments in memory without book.

Self. 2.

Nazian.

Encom.

Soc. lib. 1.

cap. 11.

Alexander finding *Athanasius* his parts and endowments, takes him into his own family, and made him his *Amanuensis* ; and so *Athanasius* growing up to excellency of wisdom, learning, and piety, begins to be had in great reputation of all men, yea even of *Alexander* himself, who disdained not to become upon occasion *Amanuensis* to *Athanasius*, and made him one of the Deacons of *Alexandria*.

Self. 3.

This conjunction between *Alexander* and *Athanasius* engaged *Athanasius* into one adventure with *Alexander* against the Arians ; who now were grown into that height in the Empire, that the Emperour found it not safe to enter the lists against it, being almost tired with fourteen years war against his heathen antagonists for the Empire : during which time this heresie had gained such a foundation, that though the Emperour might think himself sufficient to deal with the persons of *Alexander* and *Arius*, yet the people now heated with the differences concerning these opinions, and that concerning Easter-Day (although as yet they held communion together) have now gotten the ball on their foot and resolve to carry the same, some upon grounds of judgment or opinion, others out of faction : so as now no course is left but to endeavour

Soc. lib. 1.

cap. 5.

Sozom.

lib. 1. cap.

15.

to settle the minds of men by way of a general Council of the Churches throughout the whole Empire. For as by the conviction of teachers, the errors of the learners will soon pine away; so the joynt conclusions of many of such teachers assembled in Council, will soon put to naught the private opinions of several single persons; because every one single wise man will think the conclusions of many such joyned in Council, more wisely determined then he alone can do his own private opinion.

C A P. IV.

The Council of Nice and the banishment of Arius.

BUt the Devil and pride was more predominant then reason in this case, as the event shewed. For *Constantine* the Emperour, though he knew it would cost him vast expences, yet not regarding that, he did call a Council of all the Churches, and appointed the same to be holden at *Nice* a City of *Bithinia*, unto which place assembled all the Bishops of the Empire, who had no reasonable cause of absenting themselves, besides the Presbyters and other learned men. The number of the Bishops were three hundred and eighteen, unto all of whom the Emperour gave entertainment at his own cost; and unto this Council, by special message *Arius* is in-

Sec. 1.

Euseb. *Vir.*
Const. cap.

47.

joyned to come. This entertainment was much for the Emperours honour, being of so many and for so long a time; for some Writers report that the Council lasted three years, others lesse, but doubtlesse it did hold for a long time. And it was much more for the honour of the Emperor and the Council, that there were so many holy men amongst them, most or many of whom carried about them the marks of their Religion, scars and mutilation of members and dismembrings, Trophies of their Profession; every one of which carried efficacy with their determinations, and brought honour to their persons even in the eyes of the Emperor himself when he beheld them in their Assembly.

*Señ. 2.
Soc. lib. 1.
esp. 5.
Euseb. Vit.
Const.
cap. 12.*

The Emperor at the first entry upon their work, made a short Speech, testifying his thankfulness to God for his victory over all his enemies, and for the publick peace of his Empire, and for the joyful sight of them in their meeting; and exhorting them to preserve peace and unity in the Church of God, and purity of Doctrine, and holiness of life: And especially he commendeth two things in particular to their care; One for establishing one practice of the Church in the observation of the Feast of *Easter*, upon one certain day. The other concerned the Arian doctrine. The first of which the Council happily determined; and the same was confirmed by the Emperours edict, although the acts of the Council now published, make little mention thereof. But the second, concerning Arian doctrine, required much dispute: For *Arius* appeared in the maintenance of his opinions: And *Alexander* the Alexandrian Bishop principally opposed him, and with him

*Euseb. Vit.
Const. cap.
16, 17, 18.*

him *Athanasius* then his Deacon: And they produced against him divers of his blasphemous assertions which he had uttered at the Council at *Alexandria*; which also are mentioned by *Athanasius*. The most general whereof, comprehending others are as followeth.

That God was not alwayes the Father. That the Son was not alwayes the Son. That the Son was made by God of nothing. That he was made God by participation of the Deity. That He is not the Natural Son of God, but his Son by Grace. That God foreknowing his Son to be good, gave Him that Glory which the Son afterward merited. That the Son is not properly that wisdom or word, in which God created the World: but there is another Word and wisdom, in which He made the Son, and another proper wisdom or word in which God created the World. That Christ is not the power of God, otherwise then as worms are said so to be. That the Father cannot be known perfectly by the Son. That the Son doth not perfectly know his own essence. That God made not us for Christ, but Christ for us. That the Holy Ghost is a creature made and removes from place to place. That the Substances of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are incommunicable each to other. That the Trinity is not equal one with another in majesty and glory, but one infinitely exceeds the other.

Athan.
Disput.
cont. A
2^{na}.

Athan.
Epist. ad
Synod.

Some of these the Council of *Nice* observed out of *Arins* his book called *Thalia*, upon the reading thereof at the Council. Yet it may be observed that *Arins* waved his opinion concerning the Holy Ghost, because the *Nicene* Council in the Confessi-

Athan.
Disput.
cont. Ari-
an.

on of their Faith, as it was first published, so far as appeareth, did not enlarge their sence concerning it; and besides, we find not that the most rigid Arians did assert the same, but rather oppose them when as afterward the Macedonians took them up. Upon these points therefore, that principally concerned the Second Person, was the principal debate and as touching them *Athanasius* was engaged against *Arius* in a solemn disputation, which is published in *Athanasius* his Works; wherewith I shall not meddle further then to set down the points in controversie, as I find them set down by *Athanasius*: wherein first *Athanasius* delivers to *Arius* his own judgment in nature of a formal confession of his faith in these words:

I believe in One God the Father Almighty, God alwayes Father; and in God the Word, the Onely begotten Son of God; and that He doth coexist with the Father; and is of the same Substance of the Father; and is equal to the Father as touching His Deity; that He is alwayes present with the Father, in all places; and contains all things in His Essence, and is contained of none, as also God His Father is. And I believe in the Holy Spirit, that He is of the Substance of the Father, and coeternal with the Father and the Son; and I affirm the Word was in the Flesh.

Secl. 4.

This *Athanasius* wrote in opposition to the Arian Doctrine, and to offer to *Arius* occasion of declaring his full faith in writing, as to each particular, which he did accordingly in manner following.

I believe

I believe in God Eternal; and in his Son; whom before all ages He as God created, and made Him His Son; and whatsoever things the Son hath, those when He had them not; He received of God, and therefore He is not equal to the Father, nor of the same dignity, but remaineth a creature, and is inferiour to the Glory of God, and inferiour to Him, as touching the Power of God; I believe in the Holy Ghost begotten of the Son.

It shall not trouble me whether this Disputation *Self. 5.* was in the presence of the publick Council, or a part; for the more rigid sort of Arians from time to time did assert the same things with *Arius*, and therefore there is the lesse question in the reality of *Arius* his tenets; and that the particulars were debated at the Council may appear by the result so particularly opposite to the Arian opinions: For the Council agreed upon a collection of their conclusion into one Summary, in the nature of the confession of their faith; which also was done by *Athan.* *Hossius* Bishop of *Corduba*, and published as a Directory to the Doctrine of the Churches for future times. The same according to *Socrates*, and with some transposition of words, not varying sense, is published by *Basil* in this manner. *Epist. ad Solet. Vit. Soc. lib. 1. cap. 5. Basil. Epist. 60. & 78.*

● We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Creator of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ Begotten of the Father, Only begotten; that is to say of the Substance of the Father; God of God, Light of Light, very God of very

very God, Begotten, not made; Consubstantial to the Father, by whom all things are made both in the Heaven and in the Earth. Who for us men, and our Salvation descended, is incarnate, is made man, suffered, arose again the third day, Ascended into Heaven, shall come to judge the Living and the Dead. And in the Holy Ghost.

Those therefore that shall affirm that time was when He was not, before He was begotten; Or that He did come from Nothing; Or that He is begotten of other Essence then of the Fathers Substance; Or that the Son of God is created; Or that He may be altered or changed. Unto all such the Church denounceth the Anathema.

Seft. 6.

Sozom.

lib. 1. cap.

23.

Sec. lib. 1.

cap. 6.

Sozom.

lib. 2. cap.

20.

Then the Council proceeded against such as had been criminous; and deprived *Meletius* from all Episcopal Authority and power, yet left to him the Name and Title of Bishop, and permitted him to continue still in his City at *Lyco*. For though the Meletians made a matter of fact, and made administration in government a Cause sufficient to ground their separation upon; yet the Nicene Council determined it to be *pertinax inscitia*, a willful ignorance, and therefore did not continue or confirm that separation; but taking away the Authority of *Meletius* and his Presbyters, until confirmed again by the *Alexandrian* Churches, the people are enjoined to communicate with the *Alexandrians*, which they did accordingly. But as touching *Arius*, they did actually excommunicate and banish him.

They

They further proceeded to determine matters Sect. 7.
concerning the government of the Church, by
confirming the government by Provincial Coun-
cils, under the Pastors of the Mother Churches
Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons; each of them
to enjoy the same powers which Customary permis-
sion of the Churches had formerly allowed to them.
Nothing can I find that *de nova* was granted to
them; but rather such power which by corruption
was encroached, was thereby regulated and restrai-
ned. And thus for the future there seems hereby a
door shut and barred against Schisme and Heresie, so
long as Provincial Councils and their members are
true to themselves or to the Church of God, and
the Christian Magistrate will be Christian indeed,
to execute the Law as he ought to do.

For before the Council at *Nice*, the prudential Sect. 8.
agreement of Churches and Councils, in Associa-
tions, or apart by themselves, bound no further
then ingenuity or conscience did lead any party or
person, and under no worse penalty then Separa-
tion, or if you will Excommunication, from this
or that Church, which some might account a pri-
viledg in those days as well as now; and what was
the fruit of all? but Sects, Schismes, Heresies,
and the Spirits of Professors never satisfied; but
still lingering, as now a-days after new opinions and
liberty from being under Church Government,
which they call, *Liberty of conscience*. This sore
the Nicene Council well eyed, and seeing no other
way in humane opinion to prevent the worst; found
it necessary to bind the Government of the Church
under the Law of the Christian Magistrate; and
therefore

therefore having finished their conclusion, tendred them to be confirmed by the Seal of the Imperial power, by which they had assembled themselves, and under other penalties besides that of separation. And hereby the Christian Magistrates power becomes incorporate into the government of the Church in all cases where the Law of God determines not otherwise, to enforce the determinations of the Church, as by the Law the Magistrate is enabled to do. And therefore if any Congregation will independ, or be at liberty from the power of the Christian Magistrate, in such cases they do not only outlaw themselves, but upon their own principle allow every one of their fellow members to consist with them, in no other manner then they did in the Churches before *Constantines* Conversion, under a liberty to separate to any schism or error, as they shall please; and as it were thrust out the Christian Magistrate from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord, and leave him to serve other Gods, as *Constantine* did before his Conversion; which thing no Church or Congregation of Christians, though never so schismatical, ever did, although they held their principles of separation in as high account as any in these dayes can pretend unto; until of later times the Anabaptists in *Germany* brought that principle into the Church. But forbearing further digression herein, I shall proceed with the subject in hand.

Sect. 9.

The determinations of the Nicene Council being thus concluded, the Bishops and members are called to subscribe the same; and amongst the rest, seventeen of them are observed to decline their subscription,

scription, being somewhat insinared in the Arian Principles: and the conclusions of the Council attested are presented to the Emperors consideration; who highly applauding the same, declared that all such as had refused to subscribe thereto, should be forthwith banished; whereupon eleven of those seventeen who were dissenters do now submit, and do subscribe the same; though some were more willing then others. And thus are the Church decrees now backed, not only with the penalty of Ecclesiastical, but also with civil excommunication, which was accompanied also with loss of habitation and personal estate. But nothing will prevail with *Arius*, nor with five others, amongst which were *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, *Theogenis* Bishop of *Nice*, *Enxoius* a Deacon of *Alexandria*, who had been formerly excommunicated by the Synod at *Alexandria*, and others are made Bishops in their steads. Nevertheless it was not long ere some expedient was found for *Arius* his stay, or speedy return from banishment; for he is found acquitted from banishment before *Eusebius* and *Theogenis*; but how, or upon what occasion Writers do not mention, yet it seems he was restrained from returning to *Alexandria*. For they that mention his return thither, make it to be about the last year of *Constantines* Empire, which was about ten years after *Arius* his banishment. And that this favour was shewed to *Arius*, is evident from the supplication that *Eusebius* and *Theogenis* made to the Emperour; for therein they take notice of the favour done to *Arius*, who is the principal in the matter sentenced by the Emperour and the Nicene Council;

Ruffin. lib. 1. cap. 5.

Theod. lib. 1. c. 12.

Soz. lib. 2. cap. 15.

Soc. lib. 1.

cap. 10.

cil; and therefore they beseech the Emperors lenity as to themselves also. It may seem also that *Arius* had gained that favour by retraction of his errors: For both *Eusebius* and *Theognis* made their retractions also, which they presented to the Emperor, and the Bishops, wherein they do declare, *That they do consent to the Confession of the Faith, agreed upon by the Nicene Council, and do promise that they will study the peace of the Church; and further more they shew the cause of their refusal to subscribe the Confession, was not that they did disagree from the same faith with the Council, but because they could not consent to the sentence against Arius, who had in private conference with them declared that his judgement was other then what was apprehended by the Council. And therefore they pray to be admitted to subscribe their consent to the Confession of Faith, as it was agreed by the Council; Though not so much (said they) to avoid the penalty of banishment, as that they might not lie under the heavy burthen of being reputed Hereticks, being neverthelesse willing to submit to the determination of the Council. And they the rather beseech this, because the Emperour and Bishops had permitted him who was deemed by them the principal offender, to return and have courteous entertainment with them.*

Sect. 11.

And this retraction thus presented, could not belong after the Council at *Nice*, because these Retractions are admitted to return, and are sent home, restored to their Churches, and others removed, who had been placed in their stead; and which is yet more strange, are admitted into favour with

with the Emperor, and were the ring-leaders in all the troubles which *Athanasius* endured from his first entrance into his Episcopal See at *Alexandria*, which was within half a year after the Council at *Nice*, and wherein *Athanasius* continued all the time of *Constantines* government afterward, as by the sequel will appear. So as though the Council at *Nice* ended with the rout of *Arins* and his party, and renown of *Alexander* and *Athanasius* (who is now become eminent amongst all the Churches) yet *Arins* and his followers are rallied again by dissimulation: For who ever he be that will make a *Schisme*, and not upon a clear truth, will believe or not believe, according to the turn of times.

Neverthelesse this alaid not the spirit of *Arins*, *Self. 12.*
Eusebius and *Theognis*; for they with others of their party to this novel subscription never were quiet, till they had by indirect means gained into their hands the original of the Synodical determinations, from him to whom the same was committed by the Emperor to be safely kept; and having defaced their subscriptions, disposed of the same in that manner in the conclusion, that it became utterly lost from the view of the Churches in future times. These gilded Arians now thinking themselves at liberty from ingagement, cast off their Vail, and by their tongues and pens appear plain Arians, and enter into open defiance against the Nicene Faith, which breaks forth into Tumults against the Catholick Church. Forced and fained Retractions and Subscriptions, do not only not bind the will thereto, but contrarily enrage the affections

Sozom.
 lib. 2, cap.
 10.

affections against the same. For these Subscribers proved ever after persecutors, not onely of *Athanasius*, but all others that held the Nicene faith, so long as they lived. And thus the glorious times of *Constantine* are clouded with persecutions of the Catholick Churches, as formerly from without, so now from within; the one by heathens; the other by Christians that were little lesse.

C A P. V.

*Athanasius elected Bishop of Alexandria :
The first complaint against him before the
Emperour Constantine.*

WE are now come to the conclusion of *Alexanders* labours : For he having worthily served the Church of God, and stoutly asserted the Doctrine concerning the Holy Trinity in Unity ; and now returned from the Council at *Nice* unto *Alexandria*, after five moneths fell sick, and being nigh to death, calls for *Athanasius*, and one of that name there present drawing towards him, he looked on him and turned from him : And afterwards called *Athanasius* divers times, the other abstaining from coming, because he saw he was not the person intended ; the Bishop said, *Thou thinkest Athanasius, to escape, but thou shalt not so escape.* Which words whether spoken prophetically, as some say, or designatorily of him, as a person meet to succeed him in the government of the Alexandrian Church,

Church, as others think, is not material; but soon after the Bishop died, and enjoyed the Vision of the Holy Trinity, which he preached.

Epiphanius being somewhat remote, and trusting much the reports, makes *Achillas* Successor to *Alexander* in *Alexandria* for certain moneths; and after his death *Athanasius*; but I find no other Historian agree therewith, although it is acknowledged that one of that name of *Achillas* was Presbyter of *Alexandria*: but all other Writers say, that *Athanasius* immediately succeeded *Alexander*. And that after his death the Alexandrian Churches, either at a Provincial Council specially called for that end; or at the next Provincial Council by course, according to the order settled at the Nicene Council, the election was taken into consideration, and how willing they were, and unwilling *Athanasius* was herein, take his own relation. *I was (saith he) called by the whole City and Province of Alexandria, Bishops, Presbyters, and people, being gathered into one body, by publique acclamations, prayers to God, exhortations, intreaties, persuasions, yea obsecrations, by the space of divers dayes and nights, without rest to themselves, or suffering me to take my rest, without desisting, till they had prevailed with me, to accept of their Election.* Yet it is probable it was not so unanimous by the Arian party; for from that fire might the great smoke arise of questioning *Athanasius* his Election before the Emperor by the Arians; who affirmed, That another person was elected by the general concurrence of the Churches, and that onely seven Bishops separated from the rest and elected

Sect. 2.

Athas.

Apol. 2.

D

Athanasius.

Athanasius. But that as smoke also vanished away, when *Athanasius* came to answer for himself: nor could *Athanasius* rationally submit himself to such an Election in those times, especially when as it could be neither honourable for him, nor safe so to do, if he had intended to keep a good conscience. But I shall let that passe, for if the Election were once questioned, it became unquestionable by being questioned, and shall take it for a concluded case, that *Athanasius* after he had passed through all Ecclesiastical degrees, is legally become Bishop of *Alexandria*, and thereby and by the Decree of the Council at *Nice*, hath power in all the Churches of *Egypt*, *Libia*, and *Pentapolis*, according to the ancient Canon. *Athanasius* his age at this time is not mentioned in any Writer, unlesse conjectured by *Bayonius*; but its agreed by all that it was within six moneths after his return from the Council at *Nice*, which as *Eusebius* saith, was holden in the twentieth year of *Constantine's* Empire: and *Hierome* saith, That *Athanasius* was elected in the four and twentieth of his Reign, and then the Council must continue three years, or there is a mistake amongst Writers.

Nazian.
Encom.

Conc. Ni-
ccn. can. 6.

Euseb. vii.
Const. lib.
3. cap. 14.

Sell. 3.

Soc. lib. 1.
cap. 18.

No sooner was this great trumpet of Truth (as *Nazianzen* calls *Athanasius*) settled in his place at *Alexandria*, but *Eusebius* at *Nisomedia*, now in favour with the Emperor, and the great Courtier of the times, strained his utmost endeavour to unsettle *Athanasius*; he often tells the Emperour how unfitting a man *Athanasius* was for such a place, but the Emperour listens not thereto; then he resolves to try *Athanasius* his mettle, and as if himself had been

been the Primate of the World, he writes to *Athanasius* to admit *Arins* and his associates into their places, and into communion with the Alexandrian Church again, or otherwise he must expect what will follow. But *Athanasius* neither perswaded by requests, nor scared by threats, returned answer, that he could not admit into communion such as were excommunicated by the Council; and hereupon ensues a publique defiance by *Eusebius* against *Athanasius*; he will neither endure *Athanasius* nor his doctrine; publique disputes and preachings are by him owned and patronized against the determination of the Council: And thus the Arian Schisme revives again. And *Eusebius* fearing that *Athanasius* would make some sudden addresse after his Election to the Emperor, and so win the Emperors favour: He, together with *Theognis* and others of the Arian party, repair to the Emperor with Articles against the election of *Athanasius*, as being unduly gained by combination amongst a few. And in particular, that after the death of *Alexander*, fifty and four of the Egyptian Bishops assembled for an election to be made of his Successor, and when they had upon their oaths given their votes for one person; nevertheless seven of that number, contrary to their oaths, separated from the rest and elected *Athanasius*, and ordained him; and that thereupon many of the Egyptian Churches, as well Ministers as people, refused communion with *Athanasius*. They further more informed, that *Athanasius* was a pragmatistical fomenter of strifes and dissention amongst the Churches. But *Athanasius* was not so dull as to neglect

Sozom.
lib. 2. cap.
17.

Sozom.
lib. 2. cap.
16.

Soz. lib. 2.
cap. 11.

lect his own observance to the Emperour ; for though himself could not so suddenly after his election attend upon the Emperour in his own person ; yet he did forthwith send two of his *Presbyters*, sufficiently instructed, to *Constantinople* to win the Emperours favour, or at least to prevent causes of jealousy that might arise in the Emperours mind concerning him, until himself could in his own person wait upon the Emperour ; and these two *Presbyters* being then present at the Court, when these complaints were made against *Athanasius*, they obtained admittance into the Emperours presence, and gave the Emperour full satisfaction touching the personal carriage of *Athanasius*, and the manner of his election, and all the matters in complaint against him ; And so the Emperour dismissed those informations without further hearing.

Seft. 4.

Eusebius is now more dissatisfied, becomes outrageous, and labours to win a party, and work a schism amongst the Alexandrian Churches ; and thereto he meets with a fit opportunity for his work : For *Meletus* submitting to the decree of the Nicene Council, returned to his City at *Lico*, and yielded up his Churches, and was quiet ; and his followers the Meletians were received into communion with the other Alexandrian Churches. But before *Meletus* died, he was prevailed with to name his successor, and accordingly he named *John* Bishop in his stead : which being contrary to the order of the Nicene Council, which had determined that the election of Bishops should be by the Provincial Council, and that the Bishop of the

the Province should have power of confirming such so elected, a new disturbance is thereby caused in the Alexandrian Churches. The Arians observing the Meletians thus beginning to bustle with the Catholick Church, and having *Eusebius* their friend at Court, begin to bestir themselves also; and striving who should lead the way, in strife, they fell out amongst themselves concerning Supremacy: hereat their people take offence, and fall off by degrees to the Catholick Church; which the teachers observing, they cry truce one with another, and the Arians, though still Arians, are contented to march under the Meletian banner: But this was done by a wile; for the Meletians endeavouring to gain a toleration, in their separation from the Catholick Church, by the Emperours Licence, send *John Calinicus*, and *Ischyraus* (the first of them a Meletian Bishop, and the last of them made again by them also as good a Presbyter) to *Constantinople*, to petition to the Emperour, but could get no access till they repaired to *Eusebius*; and he being informed by them all their desires, told them, that himself was preingaged for *Arius*, and his followers; and if there were not good correspondence between the Meletians and *Arius*, then could not himself undertake for any favour for the Meletians; but if the Meletians would admit *Arius* and his followers into communion with them, he would move the Emperour in their behalf. The Meletians hereupon are agreed to join with the Arians, and to admit them into their Communion: and *Eusebius* not only gained for the Meletians admittance into the Emperours presence, but procured

Epiphani.

cured for them License from the Emperour, to have and hold Churches apart from the Alexandrian Churches. And thus three mischiefs befall the Alexandrian Churches at once: First, a schism licensed and tolerated by *the* authority of the Christian Magistrate: Secondly, a usurpation of the Christian Magistrate over the Churches, in determining matters Ecclesiastical, contrary to the determinations of a general Council, wherein the Magistrate was bound by his own Vote; and these are two fores to the Church unto this day. The third was properly belonging unto that time, and those places, which was, a toleration of the Arian Heresie under the Meletian wings. So as members of the Meletians they may now hold Communion with those who are of Orthodox judgment, by authority, who formerly were excommunicated by a general Council: And thus is the glory of the Christian Magistrate in the Church suddenly eclipsed, by neglecting to rule according to Law. *Constantine* saw the error by the troubles that ensued, but saw not the cause in his own heart, he sends for *Eusebius*, and questions with him concerning it; *Eusebius* now dares justify the Arian Doctrine, and tells the Emperour passionately, If my garment (said he) should be divided in my presence into parts, I would never affirm both parts needs one essence: The Emperour tasting the blasphemy, as passionately returned an answer of banishment both of *Eusebius*, and *Theognis*: passionately, I said, for had it been from true zeal, the banishment had longer continued. But upon the next occasion that Writers mention, I find them both as busie again
in

Soz. lib. 2.
cap. 20.

in pursuit of *Athanasius*, as ever they were,

For the Meletians, but a while ago an abomination Sect. 5.
to *Constantine*, are so bold upon this favour, that
they profess before him their bitterness against the
Churches of *Alexandria*: For being encouraged
by the Arians, they go to *Constantinople* with Ar-
ticles of complaint against *Athanasius*, where they
meet with *Eusebius* and *Theognis*, who now also
have gained three Bishops more into their socie- Soc. lib. 1.
cap. 20.
ty, viz. *Marius* Bishop of *Calcedon*, and *Valens*,
and *Ursatius* Bishops of *Pannonia*; all of them lo-
vers of the Court more then their own flocks, all
of them condemned by the Council of *Nice*, and
now constant and earnest Solicitors at the Court a-
gainst all such as were of the Orthodox Faith; and
this might seem strange that *Constantine's* Court
should harbour such guests, but that stranger things
do follow. For these five Bishops having this oc-
casion, joyn together in the countenancing of the
Meletian Articles against *Athanasius*, and present-
ing of them to the Emperour; They are as follow-
eth. "First, That *Athanasius* is the great fomen-
"ter of the troubles in the Egyptian Churches.
"Secondly, That *Athanasius* endeavoured to un-
"dermine the Emperours authority in *Egypt*, and
"to advance his own, and to that purpose levied
"money of the people, and supplied therewith
"*Phylumenius* the Emperours enemy in *Egypt*,
"who endeavoured to raise sedition and tumults in
"that Country. Thirdly, that *Athanasius* is an
"oppressor of the people in *Egypt*, and exacteth
"from them linnen garments or vestments for the
"service of the Church at *Alexandria*. But

whilst these things are thus working at *Constantinople*, *Athanasius* not negligent of his own safety, upon experience already had of the enemies skirmishes; expects the main battle will come on, and therefore makes hast to *Constantinople*, where he soon finds what work was upon the Anvil; and presenting himself unto the Emperour, made it so plain to the Emperour, that these Articles were pure forgeries, that the Emperour made no difficulty to accept him graciously, and dismissed him with his Imperial Letters to the Church of *Alexandria*, letting them know of the malice and falshood of *Athanasius* his accusers: and that *Athanasius* his integrity was so apparant, that the Emperour took great joy and delight in his company, and found him a faithfull servant of God; and therefore required the Alexandrians to receive him with due honour, and demean themselves respectfully towards him; and to study to maintain love and unity one with another, and to beware of those that endeavour to raise and nourish dissention and division amongst themselves: And thus is *Athanasius* judicially declared the true Bishop of *Alexandria*, and an honest man.

CAP. VI.

The second complaint against Athanasius
before the Emperour : and his Trial at
the Council at Tyrus.

NO sooner is *Athanasius* come from one Trial at *Constantinople*, but another is making ready for him at *Mareotis*; a part of *Egypt*, wherein are many Towns and Congregations of Christians, all of them under the government of the Bishop of *Alexandria*, each of which having a competent number of people, having a Presbyter : and amongst these was one *Coluthus*, a man no less ambitious then was *Arius*, and therefore seldom was any agreement between them two, (for it is a rare thing to meet with two ambitious spirits to close) each of them had opinions which they peculiarly owned, and each had his peculiar Church; only *Coluthus* had so far exceeded, as to be in repute a Bishop, when as *Arius* was but a Presbyter; but by reason that the Council at *Alexandria* had disepiscopated him, his sect soon wasted : yet amongst them was one named *Ischyas*, a man that could thrive in no calling, and then will needs turn Minister, and prevails with *Coluthus* to make him a Presbyter; and so *Coluthus* made him as good a Presbyter, as he thereby made *Coluthus* a Bishop; for the Council had determined against him also, but he would not be thus determined upon; he conceited he was a Minister,
and

Sect. I.

Sec. lib. I.
cap. 10.

and he resolves to conceit himself to be so still ; and being thus fitted, or rather unfitted, he wanders about for a living ; and coming to a small Village in *Marcotis*, where the inhabitants were few, and those so poor, that they could not maintain a Minister amongst them, but were necessitated to unite to a neighbouring Congregation ; there he sits down, and gets into a poor house, gains the dweller there to be his Disciple, and falls to teaching such principles as he had ; and in continuance gathered a Church, as he called it, as many do in these dayes, upon as good principles as he, and with as little good success. For the news of this new Apparition coming to *Macarius*, Presbyter of the neighbouring Church, he acquaints *Athanasius* therewith, who bids *Macarius* go and visit the place, and tell *Ischyra*s that *Athanasius* would speak with him, and with *Macarius* another Presbyter is joined : both these entring into the house where *Ischyra*s was, found him sick in bed, and there they visited the Church, (for so I find it ordinarily called in those ancient times, and neither steeple house, nor meeting place) and upon inquiry, finding the particulars, they pitying the condition of *Ischyra*s, say not any thing to him, but tell his father of the complaint against his son, and wish his father to advise his son not to intermeddle any more with the Ministerial calling there, till further orders from *Athanasius* : and so without any further ado they depart and acquaint *Athanasius* what they had found and did. But *Ischyra*s recovering his health, and being told by his father what was said to him by the two Presbyters, he concludes

Sozom.
lib. 2. cap.
24.

Epist. Synod. Alex.
ad Epist.
Afr.

concludes, that there was no abiding for him in that place upon former terms, and that he must expect to answer for what he had already done; he therefore betakes him to his heels, and away is gone for *Nicomedia*, to *Eusebius*, the Arian Patron, and unto him bewails his sad condition: "That he being
" a poor Minister of the Gospel, had been shame-
" fully abused and wronged by *Athanasius*, his
" Church by him was prophaned and vilified, his
" Communion Table overthrown, his Sacra-
" mental Cup broken in pieces, his Bible burnt,
" and himself threatned with persecution. *Euse-
bius* hears all, and receives the man curteously, as
a Minister of the Gospel, pities his condition, and
promises him his best furtherance; but he said it
must be by the Emperours authority and favour,
which *Eusebius* doubted not of: but then *Ischyas*
for his part must be ready with proofs, to make
good the matter of the complaint, which if found
true, would not only be for his relief, but even for
his advancement to a better preferment, and it may
be to a Bishoprick in due time.

Eusebius and his associates the Courtly Arian Bishops, think now they have enough wherewith to adventure once into the Emperours presence, against *Athanasius*; and therefore repair unto the Emperor, and tell him of strange complaints that daily come to them against *Athanasius*: That they were many and of no mean degree: That the witnesses which will be produced to prove the same, are not mean persons; and therefore they pray the Emperor that a Synod may be called, and the matters tried there, and *Athanasius* heard in a legal

Self. 2.

Soc. lib. 1.
cap. 20.
Theod. lib.
2. cap. 27.
28, 29.

legal way. The Emperor might have much cause to suspect malice in this matter, as well as he had found it formerly; yet in regard the information was by five Bishops, all persons of no mean concernment, he hearkened to their Counsel; and appointed a Council to be holden at *Casaria Palestina*, a place picked out by *Eusebius* in the midst of a people over-run with Arianisme both Pastors and People. This was sad newes for *Athanasius*, who hereby sees how the game is like to go concerning him, there being scarce four Bishops of all that Country that were Orthodox: *Athanasius* therefore declining to appear at *Casarea*, gave his reason to the Emperor: This touched the Emperour to the quick, as if his Authority therein had been slighted by *Athanasius*; neverthelesse concealing his displeasure, seemed to do him Justice, and removed the Council from *Casarea* to *Tyrus*, so the place is changed, but not the persons. And there is a sting added in the tail of the Emperors Letters, importing, That *Athanasius* must appear there at his peril; or if he do not, the Emperor will send such as shall force him thereunto; and to make this good, he appoints the Commander in chief of the Souldiers in that Countrey to represent his person in that Council. This Commander the Histories say was no friend to *Athanasius*, and it seems neither was he a friend to Religion or Justice, For he officiously caused *Macarius* to be apprehended, and committed to custody in chains before any cause appeared against him at the Council. *Athanasius* now sees the Emperors countenance towards him to be changed; and that he must be judged

judged by the Arian party, and by a Council wholly under the Moderatorship of the Souldiers; in which respect it could not be called a free Council; yet he resolves to be present, not so much fearing himself, as the violation of the Nicene Decrees, should suffer prejudice. Neverthelesse, he came not at the beginning, but delayed his appearing, *Sozomen* says, thirty moneths, which I suppose must be accounted from the first sitting of the Council at *Cæsarea*, and by that delay gained the particulars in charge against him, and was the better prepared to make his Defence.

Soc. lib. 1. cap. 20.

Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 24.

The Council at *Tyrus* now assembled, the complaints against *Athanasius* come in thick and threefold; for *Calimicus* and *Ischyraus*, one of them a Meletian Bishop, and the other a Meletian Presbyter routed, being formerly engaged by *Eusebius*, joyntly with the Arians, bring in their Articles against *Athanasius*. That he had contemptuously thrown down the Communion Table, when *Ischyraus* was in the time of administration of the Sacrament. That he likewise brake the Communion Cup: That he had unjustly imprisoned *Ischyraus* divers times by false accusations. That he had unjustly ejected *Calimicus* from his Bishoprick. That he had by violent assault beaten divers persons. That he procured his election to the Bishoprick of *Alexandria* by perjury: And many such reports are scattered before the Council. And at length *Athanasius* comes into the Council, and they proceed legally against him.

Self. 3. Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 24.

As touching the out-rage in over-throwing the Communion Table, the witnesses that were produced,

Self. 4.

ced, were such as Jewes or Catecumeni, who after full evidence given were asked where they stood when they saw that insolency acted? They answered, that they were present in the place. That cannot be, was replied; for none can be present at the administration, but the participants onely. Then the witnesses were asked, where *Ischyra* stood when the Table was demolished? He was sick in bed they answered; then it was observed to the Council that *Ischyra* could not be at that time in the work of administration of the Sacrament. The witnesses were further asked who burnt the Bible? they said, they knew nothing of any such matter. *Ischyra* was then asked concerning his Church, who they were and how many? he said they were in number seven. The Council not being satisfied with this evidence, yet would not desist; but will make further inquiry by special Visitation; and appointed five of their members to go to the place, and make exact inquisition into the matter. *Athanasius* excepted against the Visitors as incompetent; they had been his accusers already, shall they be witnesses, judges, and parties in the same cause? but what ever *Athanasius* said, they account to no purpose; and to as little purpose was what they did. For *Ischyra* by his Letter to *Athanasius* afterward confessed to him, that what he said in all was fained and forced, and that it was extorted from him by *Heraclides*, *Isaak* and *Letoie*; three Meletian Bishops, by threats and cruel usage.

Athan.
Apol. 2.

Athan.
Apol. 2.

Self. 5.

Yet are these but trifles in comparison of what followes, for after this came into the Council a
common

common strumpet, who with a shamelesse countenance charged *Athanasius*, that he being her guest, did ravish her: *Athanasius* being silent, *Timothius* stept forward and asked the woman, was I ever at your house, or had I ever ought to do with you? She likewise turning towards *Timothius*, said, were not you at my house at such a time? and did you not then force me? hereat a noise is raised in the Council, some laughing, others raging; and the strumpet is commanded forth-with to depart the place: Nay, said *Athanasius*, she ought to be examined who suborned her hereunto, but in the mean time the woman is gone: And other witnesses are brought in, who say nothing to the former matters, but bring an uncouth charge, of a stranger nature.

That *Athanasius* had marthered *Arsenius*, and cut off his right arme, which he preserved secretly in a chest for magical uses, which being found, is produced now to the Council; and therewith a mans arme is taken out of a chest and shewn forth. Hereat a pretence of general admiration seems to possesse all at the strangenesse of the thing; The thing is accounted a brutish cruelty, and *Athanasius* as an enemy to Mankind. But that the thing may be better understood, it must be remembered that *Arsenius* had been formerly a Lecturer under *Athanasius*, and being guilty of somewhat, forth-with his conscience told him he deserved punishment; to avoid shame, gets himself away, and abideth amongst the Meletians, where he by them was kept in obscurity, as was confessed by *Pinnas* the Presbyter, in his Letter to *Athanasius*, wherein

Sect. 6.

Soc. lib. 1.

cap. 20.

Ruffinus.

Athan.

Apol. 2.

Sec. lib. 5.
cap. 21.

wherein he confesseth himself to be the chief actor. And *Arsenius* being thus in obscurity, a report is raised that he is murdered by *Athanasius*, upon displeasure conceived against him. This report occasioned *Athanasius* to make a strict enquiry after *Arsenius*, and probably discovered him to be alive, and as some say prevailed with him to come to *Tyrus*; but others more probably conclude that God over-ruled his mind to come thither of his own accord, either out of a mind affecting novelty, or intending some other design, for he came privately and obscured himself in the City of *Tyrus*, yet was he discovered in the evening to the Governour; and being apprehended, he denied his name, but he being secured, notice is given thereof to *Athanasius* privately. The next day when *Arsenius* his matter came to consideration in the Council, and they were thus in amaze, *Athanasius* desires to know if any one present knew *Arsenius* so perfectly as to affirm the arme shewn forth was his; whereupon diverse answered, that they knew *Arsenius* well, yet do not know the arme produced to be his. And hereupon the party that was apprehended was brought into the Council. And *Athanasius* seeing him, asked if any man present knew this person now before them; and divers there present affirmed he is *Arsenius*. Then *Athanasius* (stepping to him, turned aside his outward garment, and discovered both his armes, saying, behold here are two armes, as other men use to have; and if any man can shew the place where the other arme was cut off, he may search and shew what he can; the clamour is now raised greater

greater then before, in which the principal witness against *Athanasius*, by some named *Acab*, by others *Johannes* (both of them Meletian Bishops) being self-confounded; takes his flight in the tumult and is gone.

Now is the Scene quite changed; before *Athanasius* was a Murtherer, now he is a conjurer and hath deluded the Council with a phantasm or sprightlish appearance or shape of *Arsenius*, inso-much as *Athanasius* is now in danger of being torn in pieces amongst them, had not the Civil Power rescued him, and carrying him out from amongst them, advised him to make his escape by Sea.

Paphnutius an Egyptian Bishop in the beginning of this disquisition concerning *Athanasius* before the Council; evidently perceiving their intention, and the siding of the Souldiers with them against *Athanasius*, steps to *Maximus* Bishop of *Hierusalem* (who had, like as himself, lost one eye and one leg in witness bearing to the truth under *Maxentius*.) And taking *Maximus* by the hand, lifted him up, saying, *Maximus*, *You and I have been fellows in suffering, and are equal sharers therein, each of us have lost one of our bodily eyes; but God hath given us a clearer light within us, then our outward eye can see: I cannot endure that we should sit here any longer in the Councils of these wicked men, here's no minde of Justice at all; and so going out with him, told him the whole truth of Athanasius's carriage, by means whereof Maximus continued a faithful friend to Athanasius as long as he lived. After him Potamon Bishop of Heraclea,*

E

seeing

Sect. 7.
Ruffin.
Hist. lib. 1.
cap. 17.

Epiphan.
Lib. 2. Tom.
2. Her.

seeing *Eusebius* Bishop of *Casaria* sitting as Director of the Council, and siding against *Athanasius*, now standing as a Delinquent, was overcome with grief, and said weeping, *Do you Eusebius sit as Judge? and must innocent Athanasius be judged by you? who can endure to see it? but tell me; were not you in prison with me in the persecuting times? therein I lost one of my eyes in bearing witness to the truth; but you can shew no mutilation of any member, nor mark of your confession. How did you escape out of prison? was it not by doing that abomination, which you ought not to have done, or promising to do the same?* And immediately he also departs the Council, and was followed by forty or more of the Egyptian Bishops; for they saw it a vain thing for them to strive against *Dionisius*, the Emperours Lieutenant there, and his Souldiers. *Eusebius* hearing *Potamons* rebuke, was moved thereat, and said, *Do you Potamon come hither to persecute, you will do it much more in your own Country?* and thereupon he dissolved the meeting for that day: *Sectaries muse as they use; they say the Church will persecute, but the Church doth know by experience that the Sectaries do persecute.* For after this the Council did meet again, and proceeded in their work, they condemn *Athanasius*, excommunicate and banish him never to return to *Alexandria* again. A strange example of a Christian Council in the government of such an Emperour as *Constantine* is reported to be; and is a sufficient evidence to all the World that the opinion that a Council cannot erre, is but a notion.

Athan.
Apol. 2.

CHAP. VII.

Athanasius his appeal to the Emperor Constantine; Athanasius is banished, and Arius is accepted.

IT is nevertheless true, *That the curse can't else Self. 1. shall not come*: Athanasius is now in repute an excommunicate banished Out-Law. Yet in the issue God will bring forth his judgment as the light. He is enforced to flee for his liberty, and to seek his reparation from the Emperour by way of appeal from the Council to his definitive sentence, as the supream power in all causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil. This is the first president of that kind that is found in story, (for *Constantine* was the first Christian Emperour) and is commended to posterity by the example of so worthy a man as *Athanasius* was, who was the first leader herein. Nor was the Emperour scrupulous in admitting the appeal; however himself was interested in the act of the Council, by the Presidency of his Lievtenant there, but did appoint the matter to be heard before himself at *Constantinople*. Neither did the Arian Bishops now in Council at *Tyrus* disclaim the trial before the Emperour; for though they were the first president of a schism in a general Council, yet they did not independ upon the supream Christian Magistrate; but sent their Proctors to appear before the Emperour, to justify their proceedings as well as they could. But I Soz. lib. 2.

must leave the appeal depending, till I glance upon some passages between the Emperour and *Arius* which preceded the appearance of *Athanasius* before the Council, and had their influence upon *Athanasius* afterward.

• *Scil.* 2.

Soz. lib. 2
cap. 16.

The Arian Party under the conduct of *Eusebius*, had made it their design ever since the Council at *Nice*, to gain back *Arius* to *Alexandria*, and to restore him to communion with the Church there; for which purpose a Presbyter of their own sect was made become familiarly acquainted with *Constantia* the Emperours sister; and having gained her favour, told her, that it was much for the Emperours dishonour, that *Arius* should so long remain secluded from his Church at *Alexandria*, upon such mistake, and by information of some that envied him for the great opinion that the people have of him; all which will be made apparent, if the Emperour would but admit him to speak for himself, and therefore he prayed her to move the Emperour therein. It is supposed that *Constantia* did this accordingly soon after, but it might be left out of mind: For afterward *Constantia* falling sick of her last sickness, and the Emperour coming to visit her, amongst other things she glanced upon the matter concerning *Arius*, and therein spake much in commendation of her Presbyter, and commended him to the Emperours favour; telling him, that her Presbyter was a man of parts, zealous of the Emperours honour, and a very godly man: The Emperour taking this as her last request (for she died soon after) did accordingly; for he sent for the Presbyter, and commanded him to wait upon him.

him. This act of the Emperour, though but an act of love to his sister, and might seem of small importance; yet (as the times then stood) proved the great hinge upon which the affairs of the Empire in relation to the Church did turn. So dangerous a thing it is for them in authority to intrust their favour unto any private relation, especially to a woman whose affections many times are strong and predominate; and in the general, are more skilfull at making of fires than men are.

This new favourite that *Constantine* had so easily gained, crept up by degrees into his bosome: and after that he found that he had gained possession within his Buttons, he also adventured to tell the the Emperour, how much he was wounded in his repute by the long restraint of *Arim* from *Alexandria* where he was in so great esteem; especially upon mistaking grounds concerning his opinion, which is commonly known to be in no manner contrary to the Nicene Faith, as was reported. And he further told the Emperour, that if he would please to admit *Arim* into his presence, *Arim* was very desirous to give the Emperour full satisfaction therein. The Emperour was well pleased herewith, and told the Presbyter, That if *Arim* be of the same judgment with the Nicene Council, the Emperour would not only admit him into his presence, but he would restore him to his Church at *Alexandria*: and for further assurance herein, the Emperour wrote his Letters to *Arim*, signifying his pleasure, that *Arim* should come and speak with the Emperour. Hereupon *Arim* with *Eusebius* come to *Constantinople*; and being ad-

Secl. 3.
Soc. lib 1.
cap. 19 20.
Soc. lib 2.
cap. 26.

Ep'phan.

mitted into the Emperours presence, he asked *Arim* if he did agree to the Nicene Faith? and they both answered that they did agree thereto; The Emperour then required them to set down their faith in writing: which thing they after also did, and presented the same as the faith of them and their followers, to this purpose:

Sez. lib. 2
cap. 26.

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty: and in one Lord Jesus Christ, his Son, begotten of him before all ages: True God; by whom all things are made in Heaven and in Earth; who descended, and is incarnate, and suffered, and rose again; and ascended into Heaven: and shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost: in the resurrection of the flesh: in eternal life in the Kingdom of Heaven. In one Catholick Church of God, extending throughout all the Earth.

This Faith they said they received from the Gospel; the Lord Jesus Christ saying to his Disciples, *Go and teach all nations, sanctifying them in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; as the whole Catholick Church and Scriptures do teach: in which (said they) we wholly believe God is our Judge, both now, and at the last judgment.* This writing the Emperour perused, and asked *Arim* if he had ought more to say; and whether from his heart he did truly own what he did profess? To which *Arim* answered, that he had not ought more to say, nor hath he written or said other, or otherwise, then according to his judgment. The Emperor hereto replied, *If your faith*
be

be right, you have sworn truly; but if otherwise, know, that God will be revenged on you for your perjury, and from Heaven reveal his Justice upon you.

It seems the Emperour was not yet satisfied with the reality of these men, and therefore will determine nothing herein, without Counsel, contrary to the determinations of the Council at *Tyrus*, which is in his opinion meet for the purpose. But a matter of piety comes in his way: he had built a famous Temple upon Mount *Calvary* nigh to *Hierusalem*, and it being now finished he will repair thither for the dedication of the same: And he writes to the Council at *Tyrus*, to adjourn their meeting to *Hierusalem*, to assist him in that work: and they are as forward therein as himself; For building of Churches, and a pompous devotion, will solder well enough with Arianism, to overlay the same with the gold of seeming holiness. And unto this Council at *Hierusalem*, *Constantine* refers the matter concerning *Arius*, sending him thither with his Confession of Faith by him subscribed; requiring them to examine him strictly concerning the same, and if they find him and the Confession good, then to shew him favour: So is *Athanasius* his appeal deferred till the dedication be past, and he gone to *Alexandria*. But the Council being met at *Hierusalem*, according to the Emperours direction, speedily take *Arius* his matter into consideration, and find him Orthodox, and his Confession good, and acquit him from the censure of the Nicene Council, and admit him to his Church at *Alexandria*. Hereof

Sell. 4.

Theod.
lib. 1 c. 30.

Sozom.
lib. 2 c. 26.

they give notice by Letters to the Bishops and Presbyters of *Egypt* and *Alexandria*, telling them; that *Arius* his faith was good, that the Emperor had so declared it upon the Councils determination at *Hierusalem*, and that they had admitted *Arius* again to his Church at *Alexandria*; and therefore prayed them to accept him into communion with them, as before times they had done. And they further wrote to the Emperor; and informed him what they had done concerning *Arius*, so as he now stands right in the Emperors opinion, who granted to *Arius* also his Imperial Letters directed to the Church at *Alexandria*, injoyning them to admit *Arius* unto his Church and communion with themselves again. And thus a fault is committed, whereof the Emperor may politically be acquitted, in that he followed the advice of a Council: but in a Theological sense He stands doubtful; for he could not but understand the principles of those persons who were the prevailing part of the Council: but as touching the Council it self, it neither was Theologically nor Politically innocent: For they that will erre at *Tyrus*, will also erre at *Hierusalem*.

Seet. 5.

And now is *Arius* posting for *Alexandria* with all his Letters, who coming nigh the City, is met with; and enters the City like himself in triumph, as a Conquerour rather then as a penitentiary; and hereupon tumults are raised, and *Arius* is denied admittance into his Church; and *Athanasius* by his Letters to the Emperour renders the reason, That the Catholick Church could not communicate with heresie, nor the Alexandrians with

with one that was condemned by the general Council at *Nice*, unless he did first retract his opinion, and manifest repentance, and were thereupon restored by a General Council. But the Emperor, however Christian he was, yet now apprehending his Authority again slighted by *Athanasius*, was angry, and wrote to *Athanasius*, telling him, that it is the Emperors expresse will and pleasure, that all such as shall desire to be admitted into Church fellowship with the Church at *Alexandria*, shall have free liberty to joyn therein, and be admitted thereto: And if *Athanasius* shall refuse any that shall desire the same, the Emperor will forth-with depose *Athanasius*, and give his place to another that shall performe the Emperors will.

Said like an Emperor and not a Christian Magistrate that must govern by Law, nor like a Parliament whose Vote must make a Law; had it been so, *Athanasius* might have been somewhat blameable; but he being warranted by the determination of the Council of *Nice*, in which the Emperors own Vote, as well as the Vote of all the Churches of the Empire was concluded: And this Council at *Hierusalem* but the rag end of a Council under force; and therefore not sufficient warrant for what was done, *Constantine* must bear the blame. And therefore in all this, there can be no president of the Christian Magistrates interest above the Ecclesiastical, nor of the Ecclesiastical interest independant upon the Christian Magistrate, in regard the general Councils were not purely Ecclesiastical, but mixt of both interests, and so continued

Secl. 6.

nued till the Mystery of iniquity was fully settled in the Roman Chair, and the Civil Power turned out of Doors.

Sect. 7.

This advantage of the Emperors displeasure at *Athanasius* is quickly espied by the Arians, and they soon add fuel to the fire, and tell the Emperor, that so long as *Athanasius* thus ruled at *Alexandria*, the Emperors government would be at a stand in those parts; and therefore they urge the Emperor with the proceedings of the Council at *Tyrus*; and thereupon the cause comes to hearing before the Emperor. But the Proctors for the Tyrian Council quite forgetting the case upon the Appeal, bring accusations of crimes against *Athanasius*, which never formerly came to mention; That *Athanasius* had threatned to stop the trade of Corn from *Egypt* to *Constantinople*, and that the same will be proved by four Bishops, who were ear witnesses thereof; And some other particulars, whereunto *Athanasius* could make no other defence, then by bare denial of the matters, alledging that his Authority was not so great, as to stop or open trade. But *Athanasius* observing the Emperor somewhat difficult in hearing of him, he told the Emperor somewhat plainly of his siding with the Hereticks, *Emicuit ibi Caesaris ira*, saith *Athanasius*; the Emperor was enraged thereat, and forthwith without other cause or further inquiry into matters, he banished *Athanasius*, and sent him prisoner to the Bishop of *Triers*, where he remained till the death of *Constantine* the Emperor.

Soc. lib. 1.
cap. 23.
Theod.
lib 1. cap.
30.

Athin.
Apol. 2.

CAP. VIII.

Constantine will not be persuaded to recall Athanasius: *The Death of Arius.*

THe banishment of *Athanasius*, and the receiving of *Arius* meeting together as at once, like an Earthquake, shook the whole Church of God on Earth, as if their Christian Magistrate were turned Heathen again, or at least an heathenish Christian Arian; and the rather because it proved not a fit of passion, but a lasting distemper, and by all the means that could be used, incurable. For after the pews hereof was blown abroad, the Alexandrian Churches do not onely by fervent prayers to God night and day, but by all the means that they could invent, importune the Emperor to relent; They petition the Emperor themselves, many others do the like; the Monks of the Wildernesse are not behind: But above all that famous Monk *Anthony* (whom all Christians honoured, even *Constantine* himself and all his Sons and Courtiers) who wrote divers Letters to the Emperour in *Athanasius* his behalf, praying him to take heed of the Meletians, for though their Doctrines were good, yet their practice was scandalous, their informations calumnious; and shewed little conscience of truth (are there none like these men in these dayes?) But nothing will prevail, the Emperor returns negatives to all; he tells the Alexandrians, that themselves are pertinacious and turbulent, and commanded them,

Self. 1.

Baron. An.

336. num.

11.

Athan.

Apol. 2.

them, their Clerks and Virgins, to be quiet, for he will not call home: *Athanasius*, nor recede from what he had done. That *Athanasius* was condemned by the Council, and was a seditious and unquiet man. He told also *Anthony* the Monk, that he could not disown the proceedings of the Council at *Tyre* against *Athanasius*, that though some might be his enemies, yet is it not to be believed that so many learned men should so foully miscarry, as to condemn him without just cause. That *Athanasius* is a turbulent man, and arrogant; with other passionate words, as in the Letters do appear. And thus the matter is concluded against *Athanasius* upon the Emperors passionate surmise; A distemper suiting rather with *Dioclesian* then *Constantine's* Profession. For a good man because himself is not prone to commit evil, is therefore not prone to condemn another good man; without clear grounds, which *Constantine* had not. Nevertheless my own pen also must beware how it touches deeper upon the sincerity of *Constantine* than is meet. For *Baronius* taketh much pains to mollifie the harshness of this act of *Constantine* (possibly from regard of the honor of the Roman Church so highly extolled by *Constantine* as they report) as if all had been done in policy to maintain the publique peace, and in favour to *Athanasius* in conveying him out of the way of the deadly pursuit of the Meletians and Arians. And it is very true that Writers do affirm, that *Constantine* (the sonne of *Constantine* the Great) in his Letters to the Churches of *Alexandria* upon his restoring of *Athanasius* (left under his power by the death of his father) amongst other things

Nizian.
Euzom.
Athan.

Soz. lib. 3.
cap. 2.

things saith, That it was a favour in *Constantine* the Great to send *Athanasius* out of the way, unto the Bishop of *Triers*, where he was well entertained and wanted nothing, and that in the mean time the See of *Alexandria* was kept vacant for him; and that the Emperor had therein an eye to the publique peace. And it is no lesse true that *Athanasius* himself, whatever he thought at the present time of his banishment concerning the Emperors anger, yet afterwards he was periwaded to conceive charitable, or at least to speak charitably thereof. And therefore I must conjecture that although this banishment might originally arise from a distemper of sudden passion, yet afterwards it was continued upon a prudential consideration.

Athan.
Apol. 2.

For *Constantine* was angry on both sides, as may appear by his dealing with the Meletians; who having thus by the help of the Arians travelled with iniquity and conceived mischief to the Alexandrians, in the conclusion bring forth falshood to themselves; for having now gotten the day, as they conceived, against the Alexandrian Churches, they expect glorious times. And *Arius* is now posting in haste to *Alexandria* to get possession, and as it seems is met in a triumphant manner by the Meletians, with their Bishop *John* in the Vanne; and coming thus to *Alexandria*, the Arian party grows rampant; and this meeting with an exasperated people at the banishment of their Bishop, breaks forth into a tumult, and therein blood-shed ensues, and such a havock, as the news comes to *Constantinople*. And the Emperor sends for *Arius* and the Meletian Bishop, who presenting themselves to the

Seff. 2.

Soc. lib. 1.
cap. 25.
Sozom.
lib. 2. cap.
28.

Soz. lib. 2.
cap. 29.

the Emperour, they are questioned as Authours of disturbance, and much of the blame resting upon the insolency of the Meletians; and their Bishop (who was no less adored by the Meletians than *Athanasius* was honoured of the *Alexandrians*) *Constantine* would not be dissuaded, but forthwith banished him also; notwithstanding that he had the whole Arian party to befriend him.

Secl. 3.

But as touching *Arius* he is saved, yet not safe, for he cannot attain his end for all this; he is not permitted to go to *Alexandria*, but must stay at *Constantinople*, where he had not continued long before another Tumult is raised even there also. For *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople* was a learned man, and no less zealous against the Arians then was also *Athanasius*. And the general stream of the people of that City were well mended also that way. And though the Arian party there were but few in comparison, yet the presence of their great Rabbi there made them gather courage, and grew more bold then ordinarily they had been; and thereat distaste is taken, and upon occasion an outrage follows. The Emperour awakened thereat, sends for *Arius*, and asks him what the matter is, that where-ever he goes still Tumults follow him? and whether he doth really agree with the Nicene Faith? And again he professedly avoweth that he doth fully agree thereto. The Emperour commandeth him to set the same down in writing under his hand, which he did in the Emperours presence: Hereto the Emperour requires his oath to manifest that he is real in the same; and he as readily maketh oath, that what he had written,

Soz. lib. 1.
cap. 25.

written, was according to the truth, and that it was his real judgment and opinion. Put the Historian saith, that (to save *Arius* from a plain lie and perjury) at the same time *Arius* had his private opinion in his own sence under his own hand in writing, which then he also kept under his arm when he made his oath ; and that *Arius* swore in relation to that , and not to what he subscribed in the Emperours presence. The Emperour having this evidence of *Arius*, his subscription and oath, is now satisfied ; and will have him first to communicate with the Orthodox Church at *Constantinople*, that he might be the better qualified for communion with the Church at *Alexandria*. And accordingly he writeth to *Alexander* the Bishop of *Constantinople* to accept of *Arius* into Communion: *Alexander* laying aside all further disputes, (by which hitherto he had mightily opposed the Arian party, and by which he saw plainly there was no dealing now with the Emperour) betakes himself wholly to prayer to God, wherein he continued fervently for divers dayes and nights ; more especially upon the day next before that Lords day wherein it is determined that *Arius* must be admitted to the Sacrament : The summe of which Prayer, because *Socrates* reports it not with that caution that became him to do a thing of that nature ; I shall relate it out of *Athanasius* his own Copy after this manner.

Theod. lib. I. c. 14.

Soc. lib. I. c. 25.

Athanas. Epist ad Sebastian.

It must needs be thus, O Lord, that Arius must communicate with this people to morrow ; Let thy servant, O Lord, now depart in peace, and never see that day ; and destroy not thou the righteous with the

the wicked: but if thou wilt spare thy Church. (as Thou wilt spare it) remember the words of Eusebius, and give us over thine inheritance, O Lord, to destruction and contempt, and take Arius out of the way. Least he being admitted into communion, Heresie should seem also to be received into communion with the truth, and wickedness be accounted Godliness.

Sez. lib. 2.
cap. 28.

This Prayer reflecting upon the words of Eusebius, is to be intended of him that was Bishop of *Nicomedia*, who now at *Constantinople* had the whole conduct of the matter concerning *Arius*; and who had sent a message to *Alexander*, that in case he would not admit *Arius* in communion, *Eusebius* would banish *Alexander* from *Constantinople*, and put another in that place that should do the work. But *Eusebius* for all his bravery missed his expectation: for the Lords Day being come, about the twilight (for it seems the Sacramental Supper was in those dayes celebrated in the evening) *Arius* with the Emperours authority, marches forth in state out of the Emperours Hall, with *Eusebius*, and other Bishops in his train, all of them being of the Eusebian sect; and passing along the streets in pomp, (a strange manner of address to the Sacrament) came to the common place of Market, or Judgment; in which place a suddain fear falls upon *Arius*, and therewith he is surpris'd with a Flux, which enforced him to return himself behind the common street and place of Judgment, into an house appointed for such a purpose, and there suddenly his spirit fails him; his excrements and bloud run out, his belly breaks, his guts fall out, his spleen

spleen and liver follows; and the people staying long in expectation of him, and he not coming, they enter the place, and find that sad spectacle of him lying in that manner dead. The newes whereof spreads suddenly; the company of his associats is confounded: The Arians are smitten with terroure and shame, many are converted, many more formerly in a doubting way, are confirmed in the Truth; and the Emperour himself amazed, reflecting upon what *Arius* had so lately done; and generally it is concluded, that God hath determined that no communion shall be between the Arians, and the Orthodox Christians. And that place where this dreadfull example appeared thus, was for a long time after rendred famous, or rather infamous thereby; many coming to see it, many more passing by it, point at it, and no man daring to make use thereof after its generally accounted execrable: and so continues for a long time, till at length a rich man, being an Arian, purchased that house, and pulled it down, and built another house in the room thereof to bury the memorial of so formidable an example of Gods judgment in forgetfulness; which nevertheless still remaineth in the Memorials of Fame.

Athan.
Epiſt. ad
Sarapion.

CAP. IX.

The death of Constantine : The succession of his three Sons in the Empire : The return of Athanasius to Alexandria.

Sect. 1.

*Sozom.
lib. 2. cap.
29.*

A*rius* thus out of the World, it might be expected that the quarrel concerning *Athanasius* might find the easier composal, and that the Emperour *Constantine* will now be perswaded to agree to his restoring to *Alexandria*; but notwithstanding the renewed applications made to the Emperour from the *Alexandrian Churches*, yet the opposition continues still. Neither will Gods judgments from Heaven, nor mediation on earth prevail against *Constantines* Principles, whatever they were. For now that *Arius* is gone, *Eusebius* his Champion doth so much the more mightily lay about him in the *Arian* cause, having also the other Bishops to second him, who once engaged, count it a disparagement to be scared with the strangeness of *Arius* his death; and so the *Alexandrian Churches* cannot prevail to have justice, no not from *Constantine*; nor will he regain his honour of doing justice herein so long as he lives; and yet he carries the matter so, as the *Eusebians* shall gain no ground thereby: For least he should seem to favour the Hereticks, he publishes an edict against them, taking away their Churches, commanding their members to joyn themselves in communion with the *Orthodox Churches*;

Churches; forbidding also the meetings of the Hereticks, whether in publick, or private; all which he might well do, and yet little hurt to the Arian cause: For they are of the Meletian Churches, and so in the repute of *Constantine*, Legal men; they could own or disown Churches at pleasure, and therefore out of the dint of the edict; and yet are as ill as the worst of those that are within the compass of the edict. For all this therefore *Constantine* is not a declared enemy to the Arians as yet; nor will he be till they prove unquiet: Nay they, and they alone, as touching Church affairs, shall be his Counsellours and Courtiers, so long as they will let him have peace in his Throne, though they turn the Lord Jesus Christ out of his Throne. And there were two things more that befell in the Emperours life time, which do much countenance the truth thereof. For first, (if his beloved Historian *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsaria* may be believed) *Constantine* received the Sacrament of Baptism, in nature of a *viaticum* a little before his death, not by the administration of *Alexander* Bishop of his Imperial City, as might have become an Emperour, but by the hands of *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, the patron of the Arian party; and if so, the same was no good sign. But if *Baronius* his relation may be believed, its much worse; for he proveth, according to his manner, that *Constantine* had been baptized by *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome*, and then if *Eusebius* also saith true, he was rebaptized; and that shewes that he loved the Nicomedian water better then the Roman. But there is a second sign of *Constantines* disposition, as ill, if not worse then

Soz. lib. 2.
cap. 30.

Euseb. vit. Const.

Baron. As.

the former whereby he did (as much as in him did lye) stake the very Subſiſtence of the Orthodox party at the caſt of the Dice, which was the truſt that ſtill he repoſed in the Arian Preſbyter commended to him by his Siſter *Conſtantia*. For he truſted him with the keeping of his laſt Will, and delivery thereof to his Son *Conſtantius* after his Fathers death, as if *Conſtantine* intended therewith to commend the Preſbyter alſo, to *Conſtantius*, as a man meet to be truſted by him; and alſo to commend to *Conſtantius* whatſoever the Preſbyter ſhould bring along with him; and what ſad conſequences enſued thereupon accordingly, will appear afterward: yet if in all this his rule was that of policy, it muſt be acknowledged he adventured ſomewhat too much to gain peace, and yet when all is done, at the beſt he had but a troubleſome Reigne.

Self. 2.

Againſt theſe ſad ſymptomes of *Conſtantine*'s diſpoſition, I muſt do him that right as to ballance therewith two other; mentioned by Writers, which ſeem to ſhew that *Conſtantine*'s judgment in matters of Religion was Orthodox. One of which was that he cauſed his three Sons *Conſtantine*, *Conſtantius*, and *Conſtans*, to be trained up in Orthodox principles, two of which Sons held conſtant their Profeſſion. The ſecond thing was his Oration to the Saints, written by him, and publiſhed by *Eusebius* of *Casaria*; wherein, eſpecially in the tenth Chapter of that Oration, he aſſerts the Deity of Chriſt. He might therefore be well principled, but how far in his age might be drawn aſide by the flatteries of the Arians, may be conceived by what

Euseb. Vit.
Conſt. lib.
4. cap. 52.
Ibid. cap.
32.

is

is written of him ; for it is evident that his policy sometimes did divide between his judgment and affections ; and upon that occasion that vertue that so much sounded in his name and the names of his Sons appeared but dimly many times ; for himself could sometimes censure some as if they deserved never to be trusted , and again trust them as if they never deserved censure ; and that may seem to be the principal cause of *Eutropius* his censure of him , that he was *Primo Imperii tempore Optimis Principibus , ultimo mediis comparandus.*

*Eutrop.
Vit. Const.*

A man in his first time equal to the best of Princes, but in his later times inferiour ; yet in the general stream of his government he shewed himself wise, couragious, and after his manner zealous in advancement of Gods Worship, though in his later times more for the Ceremony, and scarce short of Superstition, the ordinary fault of Christian Princes. He executed the greatest part of his will before he made it ; which was the disposing of his Empire amongst his three Sons , and setting them therein , whiles he was yet alive. He made his second Son *Constantius* his Executor ; yet bequeathed *Athanasius* to his eldest Son *Constantine* to restore him to his place at *Alexandria* ; so as it seemeth the equity of *Athanasius* his case rested with *Constantine* , though he passed Sentence against him. The certain time of the beginning of his Life and Raigh, and the continuance thereof are all uncertain, yet it is certain that he died ; but the most approved account by Historians is , that his Raigh began about the year of our Lord three hundred and six , and continued with *Maximinus* , *Max-*

entius, and *Licinius*, or one of them, till about the year three hundred twenty and four, and thenceforth, until about three hundred thirty and seven he raigned alone, and died in the sixty sixth year of his age.

Self. 3.

After his death his three Sons succeed him in their several parts of the Empire. *Constantine* the eldest had his lot in the western parts of the Empire, bounded on the East by the unconquered parts of *Germany*, containing the *British Isles*, *Spain*, *France*, *Germany*. *Constans* the youngest had *Illyricum*, *Greece* and *Affrick*, and it seemeth *Italy*. *Constantinus* had *Thracia*, *Constantinople*, and what was conquered in *Asia*. *Constantine* the eldest was like his Father in affecting greatnesse, but not in successe; For he thought he might be bold with his youngest brother *Constans*, and endeavoured to gain *Italy* from him, but therein he lost his life in the field, and therewith that part of the Empire dissolved to *Constans* by way of Conquest, after that his eldest brother had raigned about three years. *Constans* also was a brave and a just man, till he grew disabled for action by the Gowt, but then betaking himself to ease, he contracted diseases, and grew into dislike of the people, and was murdered by *Magnentius*, who had been his Subject, after he had raigned about seventeen years. Both these Emperors continued friends to the Orthodox Christians during their times; but they being dead, the whole Empire remained to *Constantinus*; yet could he not gain quiet possession without the Sword. For *Magnentius* had gotten possession of *Constans* his part of the Empire, but he lost his life,

life, or rather cast it away in the quarrel with *Constantius*; which cost the Empire so much blood, as for want of Souldiers, the Northern people had an easie entrance opened to them into the Empire, to the utter ruin thereof in the conclusion.

The beginnings of the Raigns of these three Emperors are so differently observed by Writers, as it makes the order of story concerning all affairs perplexed, and amongst the rest of those affairs, concerning *Athanasius*. For sometimes they reflect upon the death of *Constantine* the Father, as the beginning of the Raigns of his Sons; and sometimes upon their severall entries upon their government in the life-time of their Father; and they observe that *Constantine* the Son began his Government in the tenth year of his Fathers Raig, and *Constantius* in the twentieth year, and *Constans* in the thirtieth year; which cannot well consist with the joynt government of *Maxentius*, *Maximinus*, and *Licinius*, together with *Constantine* the Father of these three, whose beginning being also uncertain, I shall skip over this block, and account the beginning of the Raigns of these three Emperours, from the death of their Father, and have principal relation in the (prosecution thereof) to the Raig of *Constantius*, because he was the chief in action in matters concerning *Athanasius*, and was the survivor of them all.

The beginning of his Raig therefore will befall about the three hundred and seven and thirtieth year after the Incarnation of Christ, at which time *Constantine* the Great is supposed to have died; by whose death the propagation of the

Seft. 4.

Euseb.
Vit. Const.
lib. 4. cap.
40.
Soc. lib. 1.
cap. 25.

Seft. 5.

Nicene Faith is left in much hazard, in respect of humane help, by reason principally of the difference in judgment in matters of Religion, wherein *Constantius* differed from the other Emperors his brothers. *For many-headed Government never were, nor will be able to induce or propagate true Religion, because truth is but one, and many heads are supposed to have many minds, and many wills, and many temptations.* And though *Constantius*, as well as his brothers, was trained up in Orthodox Principles; yet the Arian Presbyter formerly mentioned, was too hard for him; for he delivering to *Constantius* his Father *Constantines* Will, therewith delivered himself, and *Constantius* took both, and delivered himself to the Presbyter; and hereby the Arian poyson insinuates into the Imperial blood, and gains the throne that formerly had been but attendant thereupon. A cunning man doubtlesse this Presbyter was, who being thus in favour with two Emperors successively, did neverthelesse thus cloud himself, kept at Court, do so much, and yet no more, then a namelesse Presbyter all this while. And as cunning he was in his working, gaining his interest by degrees; first with the servants at the Court, then with the Empresse, and then with the Emperor, spreading this Arian infection as Leaven through the Imperial Family, and from thence into the City of *Constantinople*. And thus as God had formerly made use of the Imperial power to induce and propagate Religion, so now the Devil makes use of the like power to propagate error, yet with this difference, Gods will is done in both.

Theod.
lib. 2. cap.
3.

Sec. lib. 2.
cap. 2.

Constantius

Constantius now come into power in the Eastern Sect. 6.
 Empire, the Arian Bishops *Eusebius*, *Theognis*,
Maris, *Ursatius*, and *Valens*, are at his elbow,
 and are still the great Courtiers, and imploy their
 utmost interest for the advancement of the Arian
 Cause: for those Church-men whose conscience
 will allow them to forsake their pastoral charge, to
 live at the Court, that conscience will also allow
 them to turn Apostates to any error that shall come
 into fashion there. And by this means principally
 the Arian Heresie becomes now past a babe, and
 stands in need no longer of their Meletian tutors.
 But the Meletian Churches stand rather in need of
 their pupils assistance, and if themselves will
 thrive, they must not onely forgo their name, but
 their principles also, and turn Arians, or incur
 the danger of their displeasure. But the condition
 of *Athanasius* becometh very difficult; for though Soz. lib. 2.
c. p. 21.
 it was *Constantines* will that he should be restored
 to his Church and place at *Alexandria*; and had
 given his Son *Constantine* charge concerning the
 same, in regard that *Athanasius*, now at *Triers*,
 was under his dominion; yet whether *Alexandria*
 was under the government of *Constantius*, and no
 part of *Affrick* left to the government of *Constans*,
 or how the government of the whole Empire might
 be ordered joyntly, I understand not; but it is evi-
 dent, that *Constantius* wrought much trouble to
Athanasius after his return to *Alexandria*, before
Constantius was possessed of the whole Empire,
 and that he began therein betimes. For *Constantine*
 the eldest Son delayed not to execute his Fathers
 will, as touching *Athanasius*, in releasing him
from

Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 2.

from his banishment, but having sent for him, sends him to *Alexandria* with his Imperial Letters commendatory; telling them, that they knew that his Father *Constantine* did not banish *Athanasius* out of displeasure, but sent him out of the way of danger; and that his Father when he died left it in charge to him that *Athanasius* should be restored, and that in discharge of his trust, and in answering their desires, he now did send *Athanasius* to them: And thus is *Athanasius* now come with honour to *Alexandria*, after two years and four moneths absence. Nor did *Constantius* in any manner then interpose that any History doth mention; yet he had not been long there before *Constantius* began to appear in his proper colours.

Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 35.
Soz. lib. 3.
cap. 2.

C A P. X.

The Death of Alexander Bishop of Constantinople, and the Succession of Bishops there.

Self. 1.

Constantinople is now become the Imperial City, and the chief residence of *Constantius*, and Great *Rome* not so happy or unhappy, as to be advanced to that honour; and the Bishops of *Constantinople* hereby had great advantage of the Emperors neighbourhood, so long as they were both of one way in Religion. *Alexander* had been Bishop there now twenty years, famous for learning and zeal in Religion; yet such
was

was *Constantines* principles, that *Eusebius* though an Arian, had his right ear, and did gain upon the Orthodox: however Orthodox the Emperour *Constantine* was, after his death unconstant *Constantinus* possessed the Throne at *Constantinople*, who having given up his very soul to his concealed Presbyter, portendeth a sad time to *Alexander* the Bishop, to passe through in his old age. But God eased him of that care, for his death draws nigh; and he perceiving it, sends for the Elders of his Church, and tells them that he hath no long time to continue with them, and therefore advises with them as touching his Successor, and then nominating two, the one named *Paulus* the other *Macedonius*, he tells them that *Paulus* was more suitable for Religion, and *Macedonius* more acceptable at the Emperours Court. After he dying, the Church elected *Paulus*, trusting more to the love of God then to the favour of the Emperour. And having prevailed with some Bishops then at *Constantinople*, *Paulus* is admitted and ordained Bishop there, as by the Canon of the Nicene Council they were inabled.

Soz. lib. 3.
cap. 3.
Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 4.

But *Eusebius* and the Arians are much troubled hereat, and informeth *Constantinus* thereof, who is no lesse displeased thereupon then they, and is soon perswaded to call a Council of Bishops more fit for his work; and therein *Eusebius* by indirect means, according to his wont, prevailed to have *Paulus* ejected, and himself elected Bishop of *Constantinople*, and is admitted by the Council, and confirmed by the Emperour, a fit Bishop for his tooth; yet he lasted not long, for within five years

Self. 2.
Soz. lib. 3.
cap. 4.
Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 5.

Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 9, 10.

Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 16.

Theod.
lib. 2. cap.
6.

Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 33.
Soz. lib. 4.
cap. 20.

years he also died, And the Church at *Constantinople* presse once more to obtain *Paulus*. But still the Arians are in greatest repute at Court, and in account the onely precious men, and they elect *Macedonius*: And then arises tumults amongst the people, the ordinary effect of a Toleration. And the Emperour then at the Council at *Antioch* being informed thereof, sends *Hermogenes* a Commander, with a force to quiet the City; but the tumults increase, *Hermogenes* is therein slain, and his body dragged about the Streets, and his house burnt. The Emperour at this newes is startled, and hastens to the City: And after some time, when the heat is past, he made *Macedonius* Bishop of *Constantinople*; but in these stirres it lost the lives of three thousand one hundred and fifty men slain in the City. A dear purchase on all sides, for ere a year came about, the Arians fall out with him also; because he went a step beyond them all in blasphemy; for he did not onely assert that Christ the Son of God is not co-essential with the Father, and that he is a creature and was made; but that, The Holy Ghost the Third Person, is also a creature, which *Arius* had seemed to decline; and hereof they complain to the Emperour; who (for this cause, but more especially because *Macedonius* had removed the dead body of his Father *Constantine* from the place where it was formerly buried, and for other causes) deposed him by his own Authority: After whom it is said by *Sozomen lib. 4. cap. 24.* that *Eudoxius* was put in his place, but whether it be not spoken by way of Anticipation, I cannot say, for at the Council of *Sardica*; which soon

soon followed, I find that *Paulus* was restored to his dignity as Bishop of *Constantinople*, and so continued till the death of *Constans*; and then *Constantinus* being sole Emperour, banished *Paulus* to *Cucusus*, where he was murdered by the Arians. And *Macedonius* is admitted again to his place at *Constantinople*, where he exercised such extream cruelty against the Orthodox Christians, by all manner of tortures, meerly for their abstaining from Communion with him, that their cries prevail even with *Constantinus* himself, to depose him again. After which *Macedonius* forsakes the Arian principles, and became head of the Macedonian Heresie, holding with the Orthodox as touching the Second Person in Trinity, but retaining still his former opinion touching the Holy Ghost. Nor do the Historians mention any Successor at *Constantinople*, till the time of the Emperour *Valens*, who by his power did put in *Endoxius*, who neither was good Bishop nor good Christian, but a loose deceitful man: And in persecution of the Orthodox Christians in his time, beyond all his companions, and so continued until his death, after he had been ten years Bishop, both *Valens* the Emperour and *Athanasius* being still alive.

Soc. lib. 1.
cap. 21, 22.

Soc. lib. 4.
cap. 2.

I have made this digression touching the Bishops of *Constantinople* during the life of *Athanasius*, for the better understanding of the affairs concerning him: For the Bishops of *Constantinople* being, according to the Emperours humour, Arians, did either lead or were led by the Emperours in all their transactions concerning the Churches, and so chief enemies to *Athanasius*, during all their time. And
by

Self. 3.

by the nigh conjunction with the Emperours, grown to that height, that though *Rome* might about those times begin to put up head for the Supremacy, the Bishops of *Constantinople* appeared as a check upon them, and might have given them the mate, but that the Roman Bishops had the advantage of the Orthodox Bishops, joyning with them as assertors together with them of the doctrine of the Sacred Trinity in Unity of the God-head: Although it afterwards appeared that the Roman Bishops abused their principles to the gaining of Authority for themselves over the consciences of the Orthodox Churches in the Conclusion.

Sect. 4.

Theod. lib.

2. cap. 2.

Soz. lib. 3.

cap. 2.

Now as touching *Athanasius* his return to the Churches at *Alexandria*, it was so acceptable, and their joy so triumphant, as it occasioned the Arians to envy thereat, and taking offence where no offence was given, they give offence themselves by raising tumults, and then charge the same upon *Athanasius*, as if his coming to *Alexandria* was the cause of sedition, tumults, and blood-shed, when as the true cause was their own envy and distempered minds, at what they saw was come to passe. Now in what relation the City of *Alexandria* and *Egypt* then stood, whether in subjection to *Constantine*, *Constantius*, or *Constans* appeareth in no Writer that I can find: But the Arians at *Alexandria* have recourse to *Constantinople*, with their complaints against *Athanasius*, where they meet with *Eusebius* and *Theognis*, who glad of their acquaintance, undertake to countenance the same before the Emperour.

C A P. X I.

The Council at Antioch, where Athanasius is banished: His escape from his enemies: The first Arian Confession of Faith is made at Antioch.

Eusebius now Bishop of Constantinople, having now gotten both Wind and Sun of Athanasius, brings in complaints against Athanasius with full sail, and unlades them before the Emperour, who easily believes any thing against Athanasius that hath but a criminal sound: and is soon resolved to call a Council at Antioch, and try the matter before himself in full Council. Now had Athanasius holden quiet possession of his Church at Alexandria, since his return, by the space of four years; that is to say, during the life of Constantine the Son of the great Constantine, and until the Council at Antioch; which as Soerates noteth, was about five years after the death of Constantine the Great. So as now Athanasius his Patron being dead (for he was slain at Aquileia) the influence from Constantine upon him was the more malevolent, but yet much worse by the conjunction with Eusebius now Bishop of Constantinople; who having gained the Imperial City, he writes his Letters to Julius Bishop of Rome, letting him know of the complaints made against Athanasius; and that it was the Emperours mind that the same should be tried before a Council, and that the Emperour

Sect. 1.

Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 5.

Ibid.

Soc. lib. 3.
cap. 5.

Theod.
lib. 2. c. 4.

The Life of Athanasius.

perour had summoned a Council to be holden at *Antioch* for the solemn Consecrating of a Church there, which formerly was begun by *Constantine* the Great, and now finished by *Constantinus*. A fair pretence of building of Churches : but most men understood them aright, that it was rather for the pulling down of the Church of Christ by banishment of *Athanasius*, which is generally known they threaten. And for this cause divers of the Orthodox Bishops come not at all ; and others of them that are in their journey are seized upon, and imprisoned by the way ; and by that unjust means many escaped strong temptations, which otherwise they had been exposed unto by their presence at the Council. Nevertheless there met at that Council one hundred Bishops saving one, and amongst the rest *Ensebius*, now Bishop of *Constantinople* failed not ; for *Athanasius* is his designed morsel, without which his appetite cannot be satisfied ; yet its probable he missed his expectation : for if he were at the beginning of the work, before he could swallow what he imagined was his own, death took him out of the way, and carried him to his last account concerning the Deity of the Son of God, and concerning the outrages done to the people of God. Nevertheless the Council goes on, and *Constantinus* himself sees to the chace, and *Athanasius* his matter comes to consideration, although he neither was present, nor for ought appears, was summoned. The Crimes laid to his charge ; First, that without Warrant or Order from any Council, he returned from banishment, and possessed himself of the Church of *Alexandria*. Secondly, That being come

Sozom.
lib. 3. c. 5.

Sozom.
lib. 3. c. 6.
Niceph.
Hist. lib. 9.
cap. 7.

Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 5.

come thither, he raised Tumults amongst the people; wherein some are slain, others imprisoned, and others otherwise punished. And lastly, for want of other matters, they revived the complaints raised against him at the Council of *Tyrus*, and these are charged against him anew. How unjustly these things are thus charged against *Athanasius* may thus appear; The last charge concerning the matters at the Council at *Tyrus*, needed no answer, for they were buried in their very birth, and their own evidence failing, can never be revived. The second Article concerning Tumults, was by the Apologetical Epistle of the Alexandrian Church declared to be false; wherein they tell *Constantinus*, that the Catholick Church uses no such weapons in their warfare as death, imprisonment, bonds, or corporal punishments, concerning which the civil Magistrate can give further accompt. And as to the first charge, it was a wilfull mistake; For *Athanasius* was not banished by the Emperour in order to the sentence of the Council at *Tyrus*, which depended upon appeal before him, but upon new matters originally arising before him; and these being of a political consideration concerning the publick peace; the Emperour might as well restore *Athanasius* without the Council, as banish him without the Council.

But *Athanasius* cast a block in the way of their whole proceedings: he saw their intentions; for who saw them not? he therefore delays his appearing at *Antioch*, if he were summoned, and left them to proceed without hearing of both parts. This being understood by *Constantinus*, he sends to

Self. 2.

Soz. lib. 3.
c. 5. 8.

Theod.
lib. 2. c. 4

apprehend *Athanasius*; but he being aware thereof, withdrew himself out of the way, and hid himself for the present, and afterwards escaped away to *Rome*. Some write that he was sent for by the Bishop of *Rome* upon the Letters of complaint from *Eusebius*; and both may be true; for after that *Eusebius* had sent his Letters, its said that the Bishop of *Rome* answered the same by his Letters; and intimated, that *Athanasius* could not with safety come for trial where so much prejudice was against him; and therefore he tells *Eusebius*, that those matters against *Athanasius* should be heard at *Rome*, where also a Council was to be holden, and where order should be taken for *Athanasius* his appearing. And accordingly *Eusebius* and the Antiochian Council in their reply to *Julius* his Letters did agree thereto, and promised to send to *Rome* their charge against *Athanasius*, with their Delegates to proceed against him. And this might be a ground for the Bishop of *Rome* to send to *Athanasius* to come to *Rome*, and for the Bishop of *Rome* at the Council there to hear the Cause, and for the Council at *Antioch* to send their delegates thither; and yet no Supremacy hereby vested in the Bishop of *Rome* over the Asian or African Churches.

Soz. 3.

Thus escaped *Athanasius* to *Rome*, where he finds *Paulus* the banished Constantinopolitan Bishop waiting there also for relief, as well as himself: But as yet whatever the Antiochian Councils letters mention concerning *Athanasius* his Trial at *Rome*, they proceeded nevertheless to banish him, the Emperour also confirming the same:
This

This was one illegality: But a second ensued much worse, which was their sudden election of *Gregory* Bishop of *Alexandria* in the room of *Athanasius*, who was a man altogether unknown both to the Church and Province of *Alexandria*; and yet which was worst of all, they being a Council, did send him and settle him with a force that brought him in by blood. And all this done by a Vote procured as ill as all the rest: For whereas their Council consisted of one hundred Votes well nigh, yet they could not find forty to agree in this Vote. Only the Emperours Vote concurring, put all the rest to silence. But such as the work, such was the issue, for *Gregory* continued there not long, before not only the Orthodox Christians, but even the Arians also were weary of him; and for his cruel and bloody entrance, and his imperious government, and gluttonish indulgence, thrust him out of his government, and put in *George* of *Capadocia* in his place; and yet he also, nor *St. George* neither, as will hereafter appear.

Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 8.

Athan.
Apol. 2.
Epist. Jul.
Ibid.

Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 10.
Soc. lib 3.
cap. 6.

The Council at *Antioch* having thus done what they can against *Athanasius*, have one thing more to do. For the Bishop of *Rome* had sorely taxed this Council for siding with the Arians against the Nicene Council, unto which nevertheless all the several members of this Council, or the most part of them, had subscribed. This the Antiochian Council fear will stick upon them, for their consciences told them that they had done somewhat that might deserve such imputation; and that it would be a shame for so many learned men to be relapsed in a Council, and so many reverend Bishops to be re-

Sect. 4.

Soc lib. 2.
cap. 7.

puted disciples to *Arim*, who was but a Presbyter, defamed in his doctrine, life and death. They be-
think themselves therefore of a declaration to the
Churches, wherein they set forth, That they are
not fals from the Nicene Faith; neither are they
disciples of *Arim*, and in witnesse thereof, they
there make Confession of their Faith; A company
of fickle hearted Bishops they were. They are not
fals from the Nicene Faith, nor will they own it.
They will have a Confession of their own, and
yet will own none: They frame a Confession and
publish it, and then like it not. By that time that
they are warm in their work of Confession, they
repent of what they have confessed, and confesse
anew to this purpose.

Soc lib. 2.
cap. 7.

*We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Ma-
ker of All things, And in one Lord Jesus Christ,
His Onely begotten Son, God by whom all things are
made; Begotten before all things of the Father: God
of God, whole of whole; Onely of Onely; Per-
fect of Perfect; King of King; Lord of Lord;
The Living Word, Wisdom, Life, True Light; Way
of Truth; Resurrection, Power, Door; That He
cannot be converted, nor changed; The Expresse I-
mage of the Deity; Essence, Virtue, Council, and
Glory of the Father. The First Begotten of every
Creature. Who was in the beginning with God. The
Word by whom all things are made, and in whom
all things consist; who in the last dayes came from
Heaven, is born of the Virgin; Made Man, and
the Mediator of God and Man: The Apostle of our
Faith, and Lord of Life, who suffered for us, arose
for*

for us the third day, and ascended to Heaven; And sitteth at the right hand of the Father. And shall come with glory and power to judge the Quick and the Dead. And in the Holy Ghost, which giveth comfort, sanctification and perfection to Believers. And the words Father, Son, and Holy Ghost do exactly expresse the proper Person, Order and Glory of every of them so named. That they are three in persons, but in consent one.

If any man shall teach ought against the right and sound Faith of the Scriptures, or that there is, or was a time or age before the Son of God was made, Let him be accursed.

And if any man shall call the Son a creature, as one of the creatures; or a branch, as one of the branches; Let him be accursed.

Many more words they are then in the Nicene Confession, and yet not enough; They will seem to allow to Christ all that can be desired, and heap up many of his titles, and might have out of the Text heaped many more. And for all this they will not allow Christ all his excellencies. He shall be allowed to be before all time, but not coeternal with the Father. He shall be Lord of Lord, but not consubstantial with the Father. If their meaning then be one and the same with the Nicene Confession; why then do they differ in words? unlesse they intend thereby that people should stick to no one form, but to take up any that shall come to hand, and thereby swallow down error more unsensibly. Like to many in these late Parliaments, wherein much endeavour hath been for a form of

Soz. lib. 1.
cap. 5.

Articles of Faith that might be established by Law, but little or nothing could be effected. The consciences of men have been so tender, that they cannot endure any form of wholesome words; but like this Antiochian Council, they like the Nicene Faith; and yet will have liberty to differ from it; they will publish one, so as they be not bound thereto, but be at liberty to change.

Sect. 5.

The newes of this new Antiochian Confession coming to *Athanasius*, made him the more earnest to assert the Nicene Confession; and being now to make his defence before the Council at *Rome*, he as was usual in such cases, declared the substance of his Faith before the Council, so compendiously, and with such apt expressions, that the Council caused the same to be published, for the further clearing forth of the Nicene Faith, which formerly had passed abroad variously, in regard of the losse of the Original Copy of the Acts of the Nicene Council; yet it seems that *Athanasius* his Confession was somewhat more large then the Nicene, in the doctrine concerning the Holy Ghost, to obviate the Macedonian Heresie which sprang up of later times. But whether that Confession of *Athanasius* had those particulars concerning the Catholick Church, the Communion of Saints, and the estate after death, or whether they were added afterwards I know not; but they have been thus received by the Churches, and this Church of *England* to this day.

Basil, Epist.

Sect. 6.

Whatever more then this was done at the Antiochian Council, I shall not meddle with; but thus far *Constantinus* hath seemed to gain his intentions,

tions, and yet he gained not his ends. For he now had taken up a resolution to bring all the Eastern people into one Religion with himself. And *Eusebius* told him this could never be done, so long as *Athanasius* stood thus in his way; which in plainer words is, that *Athanasius* must be put to death before the Emperour can accomplish his work. But God had otherwise determined. The Antiochian Council could do little more then shew their teeth; For *Athanasius* is now out of their reach, and God finds other work for *Constantius*. The news comes to him of the falling of the Franks in upon the borders of the Empire, and he must look to that; and the Eastern parts of the Empire, especially the City of *Antioch*, is grievously tossed by Earthquakes successively renewing by the space of a whole year; and the Council there assembled must look to that, and move and remove, and at length give over, before they have done what they intended. And thus *Athanasius* is left to stand or fall at the Council at *Rome*.

Sec. lib. 2.
cap. 7.

CAP. XII.

Athanasius acquitted by the Council at Rome. Constantine the Emperour favoureth the Orthodox Christians.

Scil. 1.

*Athan.
Apol.
De fuga.*

*Vid. Epist.
Jul.*

*Sec. lib. 2.
cap. 14.
Soz. lib. 3.
cap. 9.*

THe City of *Rome* hath now the honour to be an *Assylum*, or a City of refuge, for the persecuted Bishops, who are fled from the rage of *Constantius* his persecution, which so afflicted the hearts of the Western Bishops, that a Council is called at *Rome*, many of the Eastern Bishops also being movers thereof; and upon the Summons no lesse then three hundred Bishops met together. And there also *Athanasius* upon his Summons appeared ready to make his Just Defence. And hereof notice is given to them at *Antioch*, and that the Council was ready for the hearing of the cause, if the cause on their part was ready for them; and therefore desired them to send to *Rome* some with authority from them at *Antioch*, to prosecute the matters in charge against *Athanasius*. This Message from the Roman Council passed also under the shadow of *Constantine* his Imperial Letters to his brother *Constantius* to the same purpose. The Antiochian Council hereupon send four of their Members as Delegates, who first made their application to the Emperour *Constantine*, and endeavoured to vindicate the honour of the Antiochian Council in their proceedings against *Athanasius*, as also as touching their doctrine; and as evidence

dence thereof they produced before the Emperour *Constantine* a Confession of Faith which they pretend to be the Confession made by them at the Council at *Antioch*; but in truth framed by the Messengers themselves, more suitable to their present purpose: For by their principles of tenderesse and liberty of conscience, as the Council did alter their Confession according to the occasion; so it seems might these their representatives do the like, so as might best serve their own turn. This Confession which they thus produced, though the value thereof be small, in regard of the contrivers thereof and their aimes in contriving the same; yet seeing by comparing of the one with the other, the truth of their design, though not their design of truth, will the better appear, I shall set down the same.

We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker and Worker of all things, from whom all fatherhood of Heaven and Earth is named. And in his one begotten Son Our Lord Jesus Christ, before all ages begotten of the Father, God of God, Light of Light. By whom all things are made Visible and Invisible. Who is the Word, Wisdom, Vertue, Life, true Light; who in the last dayes is incarnate for us, born of the Holy Virgin, Crucified, dead, and buried; On the third day he arose again; Ascended into Heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father, And at the end of ages shall come to judge both the Quick and the Dead, and to render to every one according to his works, of whose Kingdom shall be no end, but it shall remain for ever: For he shall sit at the right hand of the Father to the end of this World,
and

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and in the future. And in the Holy Ghost, that is the Comforter, whom the Father promised to the Apostles, and after His ascension into Heaven, sent, that he should teach and inform them all things; by whom all Believers souls shall be sanctified, who truly believe in Him. And the Church determines all those to be slain from it, who do say that the Son of God is of nothing, or of other substance than the Father. Or that time was when He was not.

Señ. 2.

So as these men will have the Emperour believe that the Council at *Antioch* do adhere to the Nicene Faith, whiles they affirm that the Son is of no other substance than the Father; and yet will not hold forth that he is coeternal with the Father. But the Emperour *Constantine* being fully informed in all particulars, and observing the unconstancy and unsettled conclusions and principles of the *Antiochian* Council, that they first agree upon one Confession of Faith, and then fall from that and take up a second, and that their Delegates now wave that also and hold forth a third; he dismissed them with their Faith to the Council at *Rome*; where when they arrived, pretending to prosecute their charge against *Athanasius*, and finding him prepared with his witnesses, and that the Emperour had none there to represent his person as President; but that the Council was left to regular proceedings. The Delegates failed in their prosecution, and pretending frivolous excuses departed home. Nevertheless the Council expected the return of them or some others in their Head to prosecute their complaints, but
after

*Athàn.
Epist. ad
Solit. Vir.*

after a years waiting, finding their expectation vain, they proceeded to examine the defence made by *Athanasius*; and upon perusal of the Letters from the Alexandrian Churches, and hearing of Witnesses produced, the Council acquit *Athanasius*, and restore him to his Church again. The like they did also with others; by vertue whereof they repaired to their several places, and possessed them again. And some Writers affirm that *Athanasius* did return to *Alexandria* again upon that account also: which if he did, it was not long ere he is informed that *Hillarius* the Emperours Lievtenant had given order to his Soldiers for a Rendezvous; and thereupon, or upon other cause of suspicion, he provided for himself accordingly. And the night following cometh *Hillarius* to *Alexandria*, in a dark stormy night, and being informed that *Athanasius* had hid himself in the Church called *Theona*, he beset the same on all sides, and the soldiers breaking in suddenly at once by the doors and windows on all sides, made as strict a search as they could, but found nothing concerning *Athanasius*, and so returned as they came: And the next news that is had of *Athanasius*, is that he is at *Rome* again.

Soz. lib. 3.
cap. 7.

Niceph.
Hist. lib. 9.
cap. 8.
Tripart.
Hist. lib. 4.
cap. 17.
Soz. lib. 4.
cap. 8.

The Council at *Rome* having done what they could in the matter concerning *Athanasius*, certifie the same by their Letters to the Eastern Bishops; the penning of which Letters they leave to the Bishop of *Rome*, and so the Council is dissolved. The Bishop of *Rome* accordingly wrote the Letters, and whether the matter it self or the manner of writing was too poinant, or the Eastern Bishops were already

Self. 3.

Soc. lib. 2.

cap. 11.

Niceph.

Hist. lib. 9.

cap. 8.

already exasperated, I determine not ; but they instead of writing an answer, chide, and tell the Bishop of *Rome* that he took too much upon him, and that they will not abide his order. And thus (if Historians borrow not too much from fancy) sprang the schism between the Eastern and the Western Churches, upon the point of Supremacy ; which also was not a little increased from the diversity of the Civil interests, between *Constans* and *Constantius*, who also were no less divided in their Principles in matters of Religion, which did blow the sparks formerly hidden in the embers, into a flame of persecution. *Religion may be in danger in a government under one Head, but is never safe in a government under many.*

Sect. 4.

Athanasius now at *Rome* again, having formerly represented his condition to *Constantius* by an Apology made and transmitted to him, yet could obtain no favour ; he now after three years waiting, sends that to the Emperour *Constans* ; who by this time was no less then his brother *Constantius* awakened with the loud peal that the Letters between the Eastern and Western Bishops did ring in the world ; and thereupon their Councils advise them, for the safety of both their Empires, to unite together against the common Enemy now upon their borders, and to lay aside animosities, and compose the differences in matters concerning Religion by a general Council. This season *Athanasius* chooseth for his application to the Emperour *Constans*, and by the Bishop of *Rome's* means gains access to the Emperour ; to whom he represented the many calumnies and injuries he daily suffered from the
Arians,

Arians, and his unjust deprivation and banishment Theod. lib. 2. c. 4. by the Council at *Antioch*; and that they lay in wait continually to take away his life; and that they pursued him not so much for any personal respects, as for the rooting up the Nicene Faith, which he had hitherto asserted, and which also was asserted and owned by *Constantine* the Great; and therefore *Athanasius* humbly besought *Constans* to remember his fathers piety, in calling the Council at *Nice* for the vindicating of the Truth; and that he would succeed his Father in undertaking the cause of Religion and protection of the Orthodox Faith, and regard the persecuted estate of himself, who was ready to justify against all the criminations that his enemies can produce against him. Hereunto also the Bishop of *Rome* subjoyned his request, that *Constans* would endeavour with his brother *Constantius* that a general Council of the Bishops of both Empires might be joyntly holden, for the settling of the people of both Empires in peace and unity. And well it was that there was some that studied the peace of the Church, so far as to be earnest for a general Council; For possibly if such a thing should be now moved in *England*, it would be answered, that its necessary for the Church to be under a perpetual separation: as many hold it no less necessary that the Common-wealth should be for ever kept from their liberty of a free and full Parliament.

Constans the Emperour now at *Millain* being Sect. 5. thus importuned, determined to proceed therein accordingly. And because it appeared that the Eastern Bishops began to interpose touching Supremacy;

Soz. lib. 3.
cap. 9.

Athan.
Apol. ad
Constant.

premiacy; he writes therefore to his brother *Constantinus*, shewing him the necessity of calling a general Council of the Churches of both Empires, and importuning him to improve his authority in calling the Eastern Bishops to appear at a Council to be holden at *Sardica* in *Illiria*. This City was upon the confines of both Empires, yet more commodious for those of the Eastern Empire, whereunto the Emperour *Constans* had ordered summons for the Bishops of the Western Empire to come at a time appointed: *Constantinus* having received *Constans* his Letters, made no difficulty therein, but forthwith issued forth his Letters of summons also, according to *Constans* his Letters. After this agreement *Athanasius* comes to *Millain* by express order from *Constans*; and there in the presence of the Emperour and many others, *Athanasius* declareth the manner of his return from *Triers* to *Alexandria*, and of his carriage at *Alexandria*, the complaints against him by the Arians, his justification of himself, the proceedings of the Council at *Amioch* against him, the manner of his escape, his Apology sent to *Constantinus* to mollifie his displeasure against him, the Letters testimonial from the Alexandrian Churches, and he offered to prove all by witnesses *viva voce*. But the Emperour replied that *Athanasius* shall have a full hearing before the General Council at *Sardica*, and therefore willed him to prepare himself for his defence there. Nevertheless *Constans* was unwilling those things should be opened before a General Council, and therefore endeavoured to prevail with *Constantinus*, as well in the behalf of *Athanasius* as others,

for

for the restitution of them to their several places in a private way; but the Arians were in the negative, and too powerfull; and thus there passed a year and six months before the day of the meeting of the Council came.

C A P. XIII.

The Council at Sardica : The Schism by the Arian Council at Philippopolis.

THe Council being met at *Sardica* upon the day prefixed, which was about Six years after the Council called at *Antioch*, and about eleven years after the death of *Constantine* the Great: So as *Athanasius* hath been absent from *Alexandria* at *Rome* Six years intirely, or three years and three years, which makes up the six years spoken of by writers, allowing onely a small time for *Athanasius* his return from the Council at *Rome* to *Alexandria*, and his flight from thence back again to *Rome* upon the coming of *Hilarinus*. The first three years being spent in debate between the two Councils at *Antioch* and *Rome*, and the other three years in the gaining of *Constans* and *Constantinus*, and the Councils meeting at *Sardica*; which being effected, there are met three hundred of the Western Bishops; or as *Baronius* saith, two hundred and eighty four, and but seventy and six of the Eastern Bishops, although the place of meeting did lie more convenient for them then for the Western Bishops. And amongst this

Sect. 1.

Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 16.Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 10.Baron.
Anno 346.
num. 4.
Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 16.

this number of the Eastern Bishops, *Ischyas* formerly unworthy to be a Presbyter, hath obtained from the Arians the name and place of a Bishop. The Eastern Bishops now absent, excuse their absence partly by infirmity of body; but more of them were sick in their minds, and alledg want of time to prepare themselves, imputing the fault to the Bishop of *Rome*, as if a year and a half were not sufficient warning.

Sell. 2.

Athan.

Apol. 2.

Soz. lib. 3.

esp. 10.

The Council being met, the Arian Party perceiving that the face of the Council smiled not on them, withdrew themselves to *Philippopolis*, a City about a dayes journey or more distant from *Sardica*, and wrote a Letter to those at *Sardica*, desiring them that they would exclude from their society, *Athanasius*, *Paulus*, and other Bishops whom they at the Council at *Antioch* had banished and excommunicated; Or otherwise, they had resolved that they could not joyn in Council with them, nor could they come into the Church where all ought to meet before they enter upon the work of Council. To this the Bishops at *Sardica* answered, that for their parts they had never separated from Communion with *Athanasius*, and others mentioned in their Letters; neither could they causlessly; for as touching their excommunication at *Antioch*, it was without hearing any defence, and that those matters had been re-examined by the Council at *Rome*, who thereupon had acquitted *Athanasius* and the rest. Nevertheless, if they at *Philippopolis* had ought to object against *Athanasius*, or any of the rest, if they at *Philippopolis* would come to *Sardica*, they should find

find *Athanasius* and the rest ready and prepared to vindicate themselves, and give the Council satisfaction. But this will not satisfy those at *Philippopolis*; and therefore they avow their departure and separation just, and do proceed to sit in Council apart by themselves at *Philippopolis*, where they assert and confirm all that they had done at *Antioch* against *Athanasius* and others: and further, they let fly Excommunications thick as hail, against *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, (though he remained at *Rome*, and came not to *Sardica*,) *Hosius* Bishop at *Corduba*, *Protogenes* Bishop of *Sardica*, being both directors of the Council at *Sardica*, and diverse other Bishops, and all this done without hearing or summons: And having *Constantine* to befriend them, they cause Guards to be set upon the High-ways and passages to *Sardica*, and make stay of all Bishops going thither, and to stop the returns of all coming from *Sardica* homeward; and like a troop of the Divels Lifeguard, to apprehend *Athanasius* and his friends where-ever they should be found, and put them to death; and to apprehend all such as were suspected to be opposers of the Arian Cause. And hereupon many are taken, abused, whipped, imprisoned and banished; the terror whereof made many flee into the Wilderness, and scared others into the dissembling of their Faith and Profession.

Sozom.
lib. 3. c. 11.

Athan.
Epist. ad
Solit. vii.

Nevertheless the Council at *Sardica* kept close to their work, and having divers of the Eastern Bishops still joining with them, they spare those at *Philippopolis* as little as they are spared by them. They excommunicate likewise the Philippopolitan

Seft. 3.

H

Bishops

Th. c. 2.
lib. 2. cap.
8.

Baron. Ar.

S. 2. lib. 3.
cap. 11.

A. han.
Epist. ad
Antioch.

Bishops for deserting the cause of Religion and making a Schisme; and excommunicate and depose those who had excommunicated *Athanasius*, and refused to appear at *Sardica* to justify their proceedings against him and others. They likewise acquit *Athanasius* from the sentence of excommunication and banishment, and restore him to his Church again; and all others likewise excommunicated and banished by the Councils at *Antioch* and *Philippopolis*. They caused also two transcripts of their acts to be prepared, one of which they presented to the Emperour *Constant*, which was accepted by him, and confirmed; the other was sent by *Constant* with his Letters to *Constantius*; by means whereof *Constantius* was induced to agree to the restoring of the Bishops who had been banished by the Arian Bishops, but as touching *Athanasius* the Emperour *Constantius* made some demurre.

Lattly the Sardican Council agreed upon a Declaration for the clearing of the Nicene Faith from false glosses, under which the Arians fostered their errors, and held them forth as justified by the doctrine of the Nicene Council; and thereby seduced many that were not well principled in the grounds of Religion; and thereby had gained *Constantius* to be more firmly theirs: which declaration they published onely as a further explanation of the Nicene Faith, and not as a new Confession. For although it was moved that they would frame a new Confession of their Faith, yet they disavowed it as a thing unnecessary and unmeet, in regard that the Nicene Confession was authentical and compleat, and therefore they asserted it by their own Act; and

and yet published their aforesaid declaration onely as a caveat against those errors then in the opinions of many men ; but not as a Confession of Faith, as by *Hoffius* his Letter may appear. The substance of which declaration is as followeth mentioned by *Theodoret*.

Theod.
lib. 2. c. 2.

We excommunicate all such as affirm Christ to be God, but not the True God ; the Son, but not the true Son. Begotten, yet so as to Christ who is before all ages, they ascribe both beginning and ending, which he had not in the Moment of Time, but before all times.

And all that affirm that the Word and Spirit did suffer death upon the Crosse, and arose again ; and that there are divers substances of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ; and that they are several.

For we hold that there is one Substance of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that the Substance of the Father and Son is one. Neither was ever the Son without the Father, nor the Father without the Son : Neither can that which is the Word be the Spirit. Neither can the Father be conceived without the Son, nor the Son without the Father.

We deny not that the Son is begotten, but we say he is begotten before all things which they call visible and invisible. And that he is the Creator of Angels, the World, and Mankind ; He is Eternally the Word ; and therefore can have no beginning, nor God any ending.

We say not that the Father is the Son, nor that the Son is the Father ; but we say that the Father is the Father, and the Son is the Son of the Father. We

The Life of Athanasius.

confesse the Son is the power of the Father.

We confesse the Word is of God the Father, and besides that, there is none. That the Son is the Word, True God, the Wisdom, the Power, yet we call Him not Son as other Sons are by Regeneration and Adoption.

We confesse the Son is the onely begotten, and the first begotten; but so the onely begotten, as that He ever is God, and was in the Father.

The Word first begotten we refer to the Manhood; He is different from all creatures, because He is the first begotten of the dead: We confesse one Deity of the Father and the Son. And we say not that the Father is greater then the Son, by reason of any diversity or difference of substance; but because the Name Father is greater then the Name Son.

The interpretation of these words, I and my Father are One, that they are meant by consent and agreement amongst themselves, we affirm is an assured interpretation.

That opinion that as men fall out, and be afterwards reconciled: So there may be a difference, and then agreement between the Father Almighty and the Son: We affirm is a foolish opinion.

We believe that the words, I and my Father are One, do signifie the unity of the Substance, which is together of the Father and the Son.

We believe that the Son doth raaign together with the Father without beginning or ending, nor can his Kingdom be defined or determined by time. For that which is eternal can neither begin to be, nor cease to be.

We believe and affirm the Comforter the Holy Ghost is promised and is sent to us by God Himself; that he is not crucified, but the Man born of the Virgin Mary: For Man is mortal, but God is immortal.

We believe not that God in Man, but Man in God, did rise the third day, which as a gift he offered to His Father free from sinne and death.

We believe in the due time appointed He shall judg all, and for all things.

This was published by the Sardican Council in their Narrative of proceedings which they sent into all parts; wherein they also shewed their reasons why they acquitted *Athanasius* and others; and the causeless departure of the Arian Bishops from their Council; and their obstinacy in refusal to joyn with them, notwithstanding all means used to reclaim them. They further declared their proceedings against *Ischyra*, and their grounds leading them therein. That he had been a Bishop reputed amongst the Arians, being formerly by the Council at *Alexandria* reduced to a lay man, and afterward proved scandalous; and that he being a reputed Bishop, and yet having but one Congregation under his charge, they had decreed that henceforth no man should be ordained Bishop of any small Town, which might be instructed by one onely Presbyter; so as it seemeth hitherto in some places there is little difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter, and that the chief work of a Bishop was teaching, so as if teaching were in any Congregation, there was no need of a Bishop there.

Sect. 5.

The sad condition of those times of the Councils above-mentioned shew demonstratively that it is never conducing to the peace of any Nation to grant tolleration of contrary Principles in Religion, more then it is for the peace of any single persons conscience to be of a doubtful mind; but to permit several Councils publicly holden at once, is absolutely destructive thereto. These two Councils at *Sardica* and *Phillippopolis*, thus out-facing one another, strook the second blow of the fray, which lasted divers ages, wherein much blood was lost; but in the conclusion the Arians lost life and all. Henceforth is a perpetual separation between the Eastern and the Western Churches: No communion is allowed by them at the East beyond the confines of *Thracia*; nor by them of the West beyond the confines of *Illiria*. Yet even in those times such respect was had to common charity and the common good of Mankind, that a place is agreed upon in the borders of both Empires to be holden as sacred; wherein all persons of different opinions in matters of Religion, are permitted to have free resort and to communicate together without scandal or breach of charity, and this place is a blessed Mountain on the borders of *Illiria* and *Thracia*, called *Tisucis*. How warrantable this was in matters so fundamental, is not for me to determine; but do for my part think it a great part of the misery of *England*, that amongst such as profess one and the same Unity in Trinity, such differences should be concerning matters of Church Order, as neither time nor place can be found for such a blessed privilege

See lib. 2.

cap. 28.

privileged to take place as Christian Communion
is.

C A P. XIV.

The Second Return of Athanasius to Alexandria : The Death of the Emperour Constans.

THe Council at *Sardica* thus ended , each
man returns to his own home , who can
finde his way open thereunto. But as
touching *Athanasius* , because the Empe-
rour *Constans* , by his Letters to his brother *Con-*
stantinus , having endeavoured to open as easie a
way for him to return to *Alexandria* , as he had
done for others ; but found the way more strait
for *Athanasius* then for all others ; therefore he
commands *Athanasius* to return to *Narsy* , and
from thence afterwards to come to *Aquileia* under
his own protection ; where after some considera-
tion , the Emperour intends another trial of
Constantinus by a more particular way : For he
sends Letters to *Constantinus* of a more serious
nature then the former , minding him how
deeply both their Honours are concerned in bring-
ing the determinations of the Synod at *Sardica*
to effect the same , being called by their
joynt Authority ; and he told him moreover that
he for his own part held himself so deeply con-
cerned therein , that he could not but use all

Self. 1.

Soz. lib. 3.
cap. 19.

means to see the Decrees of the Council executed, and if any man, yea *Constantine* himself, did interpose to hinder him, he must put the matter to trial by the dint of Sword.

Sell. 2.
Theod. lib.
2. c. 9:10.

These Letters were sent with another transcript of the determinations of the Council; and likewise, with Letters from the Council to *Constantine*, by the hands of *Euphrates* and *Vincentius* two Bishops, both members of the Sardican Council; who being arrived at *Constantinople*, and not finding the Emperour there, went further for *Antioch*, and being in the way thereto, are discovered to *Stephen* Bishop of *Antioch*, who had been one at the Council at *Philippopolis*; and he to stop their purpose and to bring shame upon their cause, suborned a rude young man named *Onager*, to bring a common strumpet into the *Inne* at *Antioch* that night where *Euphrates* and *Vincentius* were lodged. And they laid their designe so cunningly, that immediately upon the entry of the strumpet into the room where the two Bishops were lodged, a company should be ready to enter forth-with after her, and find the strumpet and the Bishops together, and charge the Bishops with fornication. And accordingly *Onager* acted his part so well, that he brought the strumpet into the Chamber where *Euphrates* was lodged and was in bed; *Vincentius* being also in bed in an inner Chamber; and the company ready for that purpose soon after also entered the Chamber, and found the strumpet in the same room where *Euphrates* lay in bed, and thereupon a tumult is raised; *Vincentius* gets up, and the gates of the *Inne* are shut up, yet *Onager* and some

some others made their escape; but seven of the conspirators are taken together with the strumpet, and the next morning are carried before the Judges, and the strumpet examined, said she was brought into the Inne and directed into the Chamber by a young man; after the youngest of the conspirators being examined, discovered *Onager* the cause of all; and then *Onager* is examined, who answered that what he did was done by the direction and instigation of *Stephen* the Bishop of *Antioch*; who being examined, could not deny the same. And thereupon by the command of the Judges *Stephen* is banished by the Bishops, and deposed from the See at *Antioch*, without any Act of Council. Nor did the Arians save ought of their honour thereby; for as they had put out *Stephen* for scandal, so they elect into his room *Leontius*, a man no lesse filthy and unclean in conversation, and had, to add to all the rest, castrated himself, that he might the more safely without scandal keep company with a woman whom he pretended to be a Virgin. And yet is this man good enough for the Arians ends. Which was to continue a succession of persecuting Bishops at *Antioch*.

Athar.
Epist. ad
Solit. Vir.

Nevertheless the foulness of this fact of *Stephens* was such, as it being reported to *Constantinus*, upon serious consideration had, that the Arians may have dealt thus unhandsomely in many other matters, and with many other of the Orthodox Christians, as with these Bishops, he is the rather inclined to hearken to his brother *Constant* his proposal concerning *Athanasius*, and accordingly at the coming of these two Bishops with
the

Soz. lib. 3
cap. 19.

Baron. An.
348. num.
14.

the Letters from the Council at *Sardica*, he speedily writes to all his Lieutenants to abstain from further troubling the Orthodox Christians; and having taken the Emperour *Constans* his Letters into consideration, together with his Arian Bishops, to whom he communicated them, they are all of opinion, that it is not safe to adventure their cause upon a Civil War; especially at that instant, when as tidings came of the invading of the Eastern borders of the Empire by the Persians. And thus after ten moneths, by advise he writes his Letters to the Emperour *Constans*. Letting him understand that *Constantinus* was alwayes forward to execute the Order of the Council at *Sardica*, in the restitution of *Athanasius*; and that he had kept the Church of *Alexandria* vacant now along time, expecting when *Athanasius* would return, and that it was free for him to return when he pleased.

Self. 3.

How the Church at *Alexandria* became void, will appear when *Athanasius* returns: for as yet he trusted not *Constantinus* his courtesie, but departed from *Aquileia* to *Millain*; where he had not been long ere he was saluted with a Letter from *Constantinus* to himself, therein pitying *Athanasius* his long sufferings, and telling *Athanasius* that *Constantinus* had long since written to *Athanasius* to come to *Constantinople*, but that he expected that *Athanasius* would long ere now have made application to him, for *Athanasius* his restitution; but supposing *Athanasius* afraid of his displeasure, did therefore abstain: And therefore *Constantinus* now sends to *Athanasius* to invite his coming to *Constantinople*,

nople, promising him full and speedy restitution; and further telling him, that he had written to his Brother *Constantius* to send *Athanasius* away accordingly. *Athanasius* is at this newes perplexed, as if too good to be true; and supposing if *Constantius* his favour were real, he might as well have sent *Athanasius* his Letters of free passage to *Alexandria* by Sea from *Italy*, with his Letters of peaceable admittance to his Church, rather then to put him to adventure himself through many of his enemies in so long and dangerous a journey by Land. But whiles *Athanasius* is thus in demur what to do, another Letter comes to him from *Constantius*, with Letters from divers of his friends at *Constantinople*, importuning his speedy coming away; and for his accommodations by the way, directions are given: And soon after all this, a third Letter comes from *Constantius*, by an expresse Messenger, a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, who brings assurance of *Constantius* his real intentions for *Athanasius* his good: and hereupon *Athanasius* goes to *Rome*, to advise with the Bishop and others, who are all for his going to *Constantinople*. And they furnish him with Letters of recommendation to the *Alexandrian Churches*, and so they commend him to the blessing of Almighty God.

Soc. lib. 2.

cap. 28.

And accordingly Gods blessing did go along with him; for he passed to *Constantinople*, where finding that the Emperour was gone to *Antioch*, he likewise went thither after him: And at that time *Leontius* was Bishop of *Antioch*; in which City were a great number of Orthodox Christians, unto whom the Arians there would not allow any publick

Sozom.
lib. 3. c. 19.

publick Churches for their meeting, but such of them as would be at the publick worship, must go to the Arian Congregations; where *Leontius* nevertheless permitted them the liberty of their Consciences in all cases, wherein the honour of the Son of God was concerned: And therefore when they came to sing, *Glory be to the Father, &c.* and those that were Arians did sing *Glory be to the Father*, they added thereto the words, *In the Son*; thereby declaring the Son of God to be inferior to the Father: Those that were Orthodox would add these words, *And the Son*, declaring thereby, that the same Glory due to the Father, was also due to the Son. But when *Athanasius* was come, he would not joyn with the Arian Congregations, but did hold communion with the Orthodox, who were called Eustathians, in private houses. This being observed, hastned *Athanasius* his dispatch with the Emperour; for it was not long ere he had access into the Emperours presence, and received courteous entertainment from him, and within a few dayes obtained his dismissal; for they saw plainly, that the Orthodox Party was much heartened by *Athanasius* his presence, and that *Athanasius* improved his little time of abode with them to the utmost for their spiritual benefit. The Emperour therefore sent for him the sooner, and gave him Letters to the Alexandrian Churches, and to his Governours of the Country, importing that it was his will that *Athanasius* should be received and settled in his place in peace, and permitted so to continue under the Emperours protection. And unto all the rest he added this one extraordinary express

Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 18.

prefs of his favour; that he swore to him, that he would never hearken to any slanderous complaints against *Athanasius* any more. And lastly, he made a publick Edict, That all Acts and Orders against *Athanasius*, or any of the Catholick Church, should be obliterated and made void, and that they all should be restored to their former enjoyments. But when *Athanasius* was taking of his leave of the Emperour, he said to *Athanasius*, Though you *Athanasius* are now restored to your place by the Council; yet you are admitted and sealed by my Authority; and therefore seeing that in Alexandria are divers who differ from you in judgment concerning some points in Religion, it is my request that you will allow them liberty of publick meeting, at some one Church within your City. To which *Athanasius* answered, Its very just, yea necessary, that I should obey your Imperial Majesty; nor will I gainsay what your will is herein: But seeing also that this City of Antioch hath great multitudes therein, who cannot joyn with others of different judgment from mine, in doctrines concerning the Holy Trinity; I humbly beg for them the like favour, that they also may have a place of publick meeting at Antioch? This answer the Emperour disliked not, but thought it reasonable: Nevertheless the Arians upon further consideration, conceiving that they thereby should be greater losers at Antioch, than gainers. at Alexandria, suffered that matter to pass in silence: Which being observed by *Leontius*, he laying his hand upon his head (now white by reason of his age) said, When this snow is melted away, there will appear much mud: intimating thereby the persecution

Athan.
Epist. ad
Solit. vit.

Soz. lib. 3.
cap. 19.

tion which would follow after his death, when as no further toleration of the Orthodox Profession should be permitted.

Seft. 4.

Soz. lib. 3.
cap. 20.

Athanasius now departed from *Antioch*, proceeds in his journey towards *Egypt*, God making *Athanasius* his way round about to be the highest way to his own Honour; and though it was more for *Athanasius* his labour, yet it was also more for his reward; For in all places as he comes, he now teaches freely and authoritatively the Principles concerning the Holy Trinity, exhorting the people to endeavour to be well grounded therein, and to beware of the Leaven of the Arians; and in some places he ordained Ministers, and so he came to *Hierusalem*: There he is received joyfully, for *Maximus* the Bishop had continued his true friend ever since the Council at *Tyrus*, and now had called a Council; to whom *Athanasius* declared the manner of his entertainment by the Emperour, and his Testimonials and Letters; and then as well enemies as friends come and yield to *Athanasius* the right hand of fellowship. Nor did the fame of the Emperours favour spread onely where *Athanasius* came along, but it went Northward, in so much as *Ursatius* and *Valens* two Bishops of *Pannonia*, who in all the late transactions against *Athanasius*, were ever in the Van, and amongst others were excommunicated at the Council at *Sardica*. These men seeing now the tide turning, and the unconstancy of *Constantius*, under pretence of remorse of Conscience for their error, make their retractations after their manner, which they send to the Bishop of *Rome*, and to *Athanasius*; with Letters of submission,

Soz. lib. 3.
cap. 22.
Soc. lib. 7.
cap. 19.

sion, and confessing their fault ; acknowledging that all their informations against him were false and feigned, and that they cannot alledge any thing in excuse of themselves, but do humbly and earnestly beg pardon, and to be received into Communion again, renouncing *Arius* and his opinions, as execrable and accursed. Enough it was to make any charitable Christian believe, that they did really intend what they did pretend ; but their work will be manifest in its day. The Bishops also from all parts testify by their Letters there joyning with *Athanasius* ; so as now the current from all parts seems fair to bring *Athanasius* safe to the Haven : Nevertheless though thus nigh the shore, he meets with another mighty wave before he can set his foot thereon : For he is met by newes of the death of his dear Lord the Emperour *Constantius* ; and now is *Athanasius* involved amongst a thousand doubts, what shall become of him ? whither shall he go ? what shall he do ? for the Lyons chain is now broken, *Constantius* is now Lord alone, and may do what he will, and he will do what the Arians will, and what will they not do ? But God helped *Athanasius* over this wave also ; For *Constantius* informed hereof (either pitying the condition of *Athanasius*, or which is more probable, remembring his own invitation of *Athanasius* to put himself under his protection, his promises and oathes for his assurance ; and that it would be dishonourable to him to let the world have occasion by the altering of his mind on the sudden, to expound all that he had done was done through fear of *Constantius* and deceitfully) writes Letters to

Athanasius

Soc. lib. 3.
cap. 22 23.

Athan. E. *Athanasius* full of encouragement, more then once,
 pist. ad So- or twice, assuring him of his favour, and real inten-
 lit. vii. tions of his good, and willing him to make haste
 to *Alexandria*, without further dread of any dan-
 ger; and thus at length *Athanasius* arriveth at *Alexandria*.

C A P. XV.

The estate of Alexandria at Athanasius his Arrival. The third charge against him before Constantius: and Athanasius his second strange escape.

Señ. I.

A *Thanasius* now come to *Alexandria*, finds his See vacant: for *Gregory* who had been made Bishop of *Alexandria* in the place of *Athanasius* by the Council of *Amioch*, was put out again as hath been mentioned, and translated to *Antioch*; where he was deposed again by the Council at *Sardica*, and slain by the Citizens at *Antioch*. And the Arian party at *Alexandria* had procured *George* of *Capadocia* to be Bishop of *Alexandria*, a man fit for their turn, fierce and cruel against the Orthodox; in whose dayes ensued a bloody persecution against them of the *Alexandrian* Province, wherein none were spared that come within his reach, whether Men, Women, Children, Monks, Clerks, or Virgins; but pursued to the utmost, by imprisonment, banishment, tortures, and deaths, in the most cruel manner that
 Soldiers

Bind.
 fol. 427.

Theod.
 lib. 2. cap.
 14.

souldiers could invent. And this Bishop thus fleshed, grew so insatiable and imperious; that the Arians themselves grew afraid of him, and weary of his government; which he observing, and that *Constans* began so stoutly to appear for *Athanasius*, he suddenly flies from *Alexandria*, and leaves the place void for *Athanasius*; who now comes in without interruption, with all manner of expressions of joy and love to *Athanasius*, and thankfulness to God, and (to use *Athanasius* his own expressions) his friends are glad; and of the rest, some are ashamed, some hide themselves, some declare their repentance for their former wayes; saying, that what they did against *Athanasius* was done by menace, compulsion and force; but especially the Presbyters and Egyptian Churches rejoyce not onely to see their ancient friends again, but more for the enjoyment of their former liberties, the Christians embracing one another, and encouraging one another in holding forth constantly their profession; yea amongst the more moderate sort of Arians, some come to *Athanasius* by night, and acknowledge that though for some private respects they held outwardly communion with the Arians, yet in their hearts they are ever for *Athanasius*, and his way. After this publick congratulation, *Athanasius* calls a Council of the Alexandrian Churches; and declares to them the proceedings and determinations of the Council at *Sardica*, the Emperours entertainment of him, his several Letters to him, and his Letters, and the Bishop of *Rome's* Letters to the Churches, and to the people of *Alexandria*, and to the Governours

Athan.
Epist. ad
Solit. Vir.

Soz. lib. 4.
cap. 1.

and people in all places as he came, and his acceptance amongst them. And thus *Athanasius* is accepted and declared to be settled in his place at *Alexandria* with peace and honour.

Selt. 2.

But this sun-shine also continued not long, though it was longer then his Arian enemies expected: For though *Athanasius* now seems bare of all shelter against the next blast of *Constantius* his displeasure, which was soon raised by the Arians; yet could they not find opportunity to storme *Athanasius* till *Magnentius* was taken out of the way. For *Constans* being murdered by him, he proceeded to possesse himself of his Empire; and hence arose a Civil War in the Empire between *Magnentius* and *Constantius*, which endured divers years; during which time the pursuit of the Arians against *Athanasius* was but faint, for *Constantius* had his hands full else-where; but after that *Magnentius* was slain, and *Constantius* now possessed of the whole Empire, he that before resolved to have all the Eastern Churches of his religion, now will have all the World to be of his opinion; yet finding many that stand in his way, the tempest arises anew, and powres in again upon East and West at once; and now the tall Cedars, the Bishops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Constantinople*, and all that are taller then the rest of their Profession, must look to themselves; for *Constantius* is perswaded that these once levelled, his way will be plain and easie.

Selt. 3.

*Athan.
Epist. ad
Solit. vit.*

For the newes of *Constans* his death coming to *Antioch*; seeing the way was now more fair for *Constantius* to appear in his proper colours, *Leon-*
tius

thus the Bishop there joyned with the Eusebians,
 who all this while had burned with despite at the
 prosperity of the Orthodox, and their great in-
 crease. (For now above four hundred Bishops had
 declared themselves for the Nicene Confession)
 and *Leontius* takes occasion to deal with *Ursatius*
 and *Valens* to break their Communion with the Bi-
 shop of *Rome* and *Athanasius*, and to renounce
 their former retractations, as done through fear of
Constantine his displeasure; although it was notori-
 ously known, that neither *Constantine* nor any of his
 Courtiers or Officers was privy to any such submis-
 sion, but that the same was done by private Letters,
 not by the act of any in power. Nevertheless,
 They that will be false in the least point concerning
 God, will not stick to be false with man in any
 thing. *Ursatius* and *Valens* make no bones to go
 now to *Constantine*, and confesse their mistakes in
 their late transactions with the Bishop of *Rome* and
Athanasius; yet seeing now their errors, as they
 say, they resolve to go no longer in their errors,
 nor to mislead others by their example; and there-
 fore they tell *Constantine* that they see plainly, that
 his clemency to *Athanasius* is so far from winning
 him, as it is rather construed to be a justification
 of his doctrine, whereunto the Emperour could not in
 his own conscience but acknowledge himself to be a
 professed enemy. They said moreover that by the
 publishing of *Constantine* his Letters in the behalf of
Athanasius, there was befallen a general revolt of all
 sorts to *Athanasius* his way, and that ere long the
 Emperour himself and all that joyn with him
 will be reputed Hereticks, and had in as great

Self. 4.

detestation as now the Manichees are.

This made way for the first complaints that should be brought to them against *Athanasius*, which, their patience being but small, would not wait long for; and therefore by a trick they will make *Athanasius* banish himself. For which ~~and~~ they fancy, or rather forge a Letter, supposed to be written to *Constantius* in *Athanasius* his name, whereby he humbly craves leave that he might go into *Italy* to settle some matters there that do await his coming; and this delivered to the Emperour, they procure his dismission for *Italy*, in such a form, as the same being sent to the Governour in *Egypt*, is taken to be in nature of a banishment; and thereupon the Governour being willingly or unwillingly deceived, acquainted *Athanasius* that it was the Emperours will that *Athanasius* should forthwith prepare to be gone for *Italy*. *Athanasius* wondering hereat, told the Governour that he could give no credit to such an Order, unlesse he saw the Warrant under the Emperours own hand and seal, in regard of the favour that the Emperour had expressed to him by his invitation, entertainment, his promises, and Oath, his Letters both before and since *Constans* his death, his acceptance of *Athanasius*, his Visits made to the Emperour so lately, once at *Viminacum*, again at *Cæsaria*, and lastly at *Antioch*; in all which the Emperour shewed gracious respects to him, without the least note of jealousy or suspicion had of him. The Governour nevertheless was instant with *Athanasius* for his speedy departure, telling him that he had the Emperours Warrant under his hand and seal,

seal, but did not think it fit to produce the same. The people understanding this, begin to interpose in such a manner, as the Governour was glad to agree to suffer *Athanasius* to continue till he had further order.

Athanasius his enemies at the Court understanding hereof, see now that they must come upon the open stage, and therefore grow resolved to article against *Athanasius*, though nothing prove true of all that they charge him with. And because *Constantinus* cannot in honour touch *Athanasius* for any matter preceding the Council at *Sardica*, they frame their Articles of matters pretended to be lately done by *Athanasius*. And they pray the Emperour that a Council may be called at *Antioch*, and that *Athanasius* may be tried there upon the matters in charge against him. And the Governour in *Egypt* knowing how the wind did blow at the Court, steered also his Course accordingly; he saw *Athanasius* would not move easily, and therefore he secretly stirs up the people to rise up against him, and therein wanted not instruments both Arians and Heathens, who yet not daring to work any publique tumults, least the worst should befall themselves, shew their teeth as far as affronts and tricks of scorn would do the work, the Governour in no manner rebuking them, but rather giving encouragement therein, by making stop of that portion of corn, which by the Ordinance of *Constantine* was wont yearly to be given to the Alexandrian Bishop out of the Emperours own tribute of corn in that Country; and giving the same to the Arians, the Governour still

Secl. 5.

Athan.
Epist. ad
Solit. Vir.

The Life of Athanasius.

justifying his actions by authority from the Emperour.

These little clouds thus rising, makes *Athanasius* conceive that a storme was following; And sent to the Court, where by friends he is informed of Articles prepared against him, and that no lesse then *Athanasius* his blood would give the Emperour satisfaction; and that the Emperour had agreed that *Athanasius* should be tried at a Council at *Antioch*, which should be called for settling the affairs of the Church. And the Articles against *Athanasius* were to this purpose,

That Athanasius had been an incendiary and promoter of all the jealousies and differences between Constans and Constantius.

That after the death of Constans, Athanasius was an aider and encourager of Magnentius to possess himself of the Western Empire, and so take up arms against Constantius; and to that end did hold intelligence with Magnentius, as is manifest by Athanasius his Letters to Magnentius, ready to be produced.

That Athanasius at his last coming to Alexandria raised tumults, wherein many were slain, others imprisoned, some banished, others other wayes punished.

That Athanasius opposed the Emperours Government, and refused to obey his Orders.

Now was the Arian Schisme boiled to its full height. For before the Council at *Sardica* banishment of the Orthodox would satisfie the Arians; but now their displeasure is become perfect hatred; nothing

nothing will satisfie but destruction of the Orthodox, and their not being. For before this Council at *Antioch* can take place, the Emperour calls a Council at *Constantinople*, where *Paulus* the Bishop is again banished and pursued by the Arians to *Cucusus*; where by the Governour he is imprisoned, and endeavour is to starve him, but not able to accomplish their ends that way, after six dayes waiting for his death, they strangle him. And though *Athanasius* can expect no other then the like measure, if he fall into their hands, yet is he not scared with a noise, he will expect what will be moved at the Council against him.

Soz. lib. 4.
cap. 2.

The Council at *Antioch* being met, they proved but a few, and as some Writers observe not above thirty, yet enough they were to do mischief. They fall upon the settlement of the affairs of the Church at *Antioch*: For *Leontius* their Bishop had made *Actius* one of their Deacons; who being a subtil disputer, had gained a party amongst the Arians, who delighted more in wrangling then in charity, and in disturbing of other mens understandings more then in fixing of their own, and he had a successe futable, which was not to be understood by others; but to have repute of unknown reach, and of principles beyond the ordinary Arians, and therefore different from them, though he be never so professedly theirs. And thus *Actius* is flattered by the people into that height that he is separated, or otherwise separates himself, from the other Arians at *Antioch*; and being so he stands out in maintaining the same, upon this account, that the other Arians had holden communion with *Arius*,

Self. 6.

Soz. lib. 6.
cap. 26.

Soz. lib. 4.
cap. 11. after it was notoriously known that he had perjured,
by his submission before *Constantine*, contrary to
his own conscience. And the Arians now offended
with *Acetius*, fall out also with *Leontius* for his
sake, and procure him to be banished; the Empe-
rour being the more willing thereto, because he had
suffered dishonour by the advancement of him,
who had been scandalous for uncleanness; and not
long after this *Leontius* died. After whose death
Eudoxus was gotten into the See at *Antioch*, and
then endeavoured to bring in *Acetius* also; but the
Arians would not endure him; and complain to the
Emperour, that *Eudoxus* was brought in without
their liking or knowledge, and that it will be the
ruin of their City, because he endeavours to bring
in *Acetius* also. The Emperour disclaimed from ha-
ving any hand in *Eudoxus* his coming, and disa-
vowed *Acetius* and his doctrine, and forth-with
banished him, and commanded the Council to pro-
vide for the settlement of the doctrine, That the
Son of God is like to God the Father; but as
touching *Eudoxus* he made no order.

Soz. lib. 4.
cap. 11.

And now must *Athanasius* look to himself, for
the Articles of complaint against him, being pre-
sented to the Emperour, his anger riseth to that
height, as he cannot stay till *Athanasius* appeareth,
but he forth-with sends *Syrianus* away with five
thousand men to apprehend *Athanasius*, or to do
somewhat that was worse. These come to *Alexan-
dria* in the evening, at which time the Church
was at their holy Vigil, which they purposed to
observe, and spend that night in devotion, because
the next day was the day appointed for the recei-
ving

Sett. 7.
Athan.
Epist. ad
Solit. Vit.

ving of the holy Sacrament of Communion. *Syrianns* informed thereof, besets the Church round with his Soldiers; *Athanasius* informed thereof, ordered the Deacon to read that, *For his mercy endureth for ever*, and the people to sing after him, during all which time the Soldiers without were very quiet; and then *Athanasius* his care being how the people might best escape, advised them to depart first, and leave him behind: but they would have him out with them, which he refusing, the people throng out, and the soldiers throng in, much blood is spilt, and the Monks and Clergy croud out, drawing *Athanasius* along with them through heaps of dead bodies, wherein no sex, nor age, nor condition are spared. And thus *Athanasius* escaped in the throng, unknown to his enemies, and after a manner unknown to himself; and bearing in his mind that saying, *Hide thy self for a little space, until the indignation be overpast*; he gets himself out of the way, as some say, into a Cave or dry Well, where he continued without sight of the Sun, for a long while.

The escape of *Athanasius* once known, for his dead body cannot be found amongst the rest, and tydings thereof coming to *Constantius*, his former kind Letters are now turned into fatal Decrees and Declarations, his Promises to threats, his Oathes to nothing: his Edicts go forth to all his Governors, Lieutenants, Deputies, Commanders, and Officers, to let them know, that *Athanasius* is a banished Out-Law; and the like to the Alexandrian Churches, commanding them to repute *Athanasius* as the Emperours Enemy, and that no man shall harbour him,
or

Sect. 8.

Ruffinus.
Hist. lib. 1.
cap. 14.

or conceal him. And now is the whole world in Armes against this one man, great and small, watching for him; threats against such as neglect to apprehend him, rewards to such as shall apprehend him, or kill him: And thus in the opinion of all, he is looked upon as a dead man; who nevertheless still comforts himself in that of the Psalmist, *Though an Host should come against me, my heart shall not fear; Though war should rise against me, in this will I be confident*: And he is well kept for all this; *Athanasius* though in banishment, is quiet; but the Emperour though in his Throne, hath no rest, day nor night; where-ever he turns himself, foreign wars, or civil broils continually haunts him; in all which his Arian party cannot much boast of their gains; they have their liberty to be as wicked as they will, but they bind their Estates, Bloud and Lives to serve him for the purchase. And in the mean time the Orthodox Christians under an outward oppression, yet hold life and soul together, with a free Conscience, till better things come.

Seft. 9.

The Council at *Antioch* not satisfied with *Athanasius* his escape, to shew their spleen, and to curry favour with the Emperour in confirming what he hath done, bar the door against *Athanasius* his return for the future; and declare him excommunicate and banished, without hearing him, or his cause; and send their Letters to all Churches, inhibiting communion with him by word, or letter, or other message; and letting them know, that *George of Cappadocia* is Bishop of *Alexandria*, and is ordered to return to his charge; and it vexeth them that they can reach no further. For *Athanasius*

nasius is now out of their reach, where his life is safe, and therefore as far as they can, they pursue him with revilings and reproaches for deserting his flock in the time of danger: So as *Athanasius* hath work enough to clear his good name, and save what he can, being beaten thus to a retreat, by the fury of his enemies.

And therefore first he finds out means to convey Letters to the Emperour with the best safety that he can; wherein taking notice of the Emperours displeasure, and of certain matters of crime laid to his charge, he answereth the same severally. And first as touching the tumults at *Alexandria*, he affirmeth that there were no such upon his Arrival: that it is true there was a joyfull Assembly, but no bitterness nor displeasure amongst them, nor imprisonments or punishments, much less blood-shed, death or banishments caused by them; but what was done in such matters, was done by the Civil Magistrates upon misdemeanours committed before his coming to *Alexandria*.

Sect. 10.
Athan.
Apol. ad
Constan.

Secondly, That it never entred into his thought to imagine or contrive such wickedness, as to stir up or maintain any difference or jealousie between the Emperours *Constans* and *Constantinus*; For he well knew it was a sin exceeding hateful to God, to give the least encouragement to strife between brethren; much more between them, being Governours of the people: That *Constans* was not of so easie a belief, as to give any credit to informations against *Constantinus*. That although *Athanasius* was divers times with *Constans*, yet never in private, nor without divers eminent persons then present, who can testifie what

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what he said. And these persons *Athanasius* mentioned by name, and appealed to them to testify what they knew concerning that matter.

Thirdly, That *Athanasius* never knew *Magnentius*, nor did he ever send unto him, or received any letter or message from him: and therefore those letters supposed to be sent to *Magnentius* by *Athanasius*, and to be ready to be produced, are mere forgeries. That it is against all reason, to imagine that *Athanasius* should hold any kind of intelligence with that *Magnentius*, who had not only murdered the Patron of his own life, and Liege Lord, but the best friend under God, that ever *Athanasius* had in the time of his necessity. *Athanasius* further said, that during the whole time of the unhappy Civil wars raised by *Magnentius*, *Athanasius* was so far from wishing a good success to *Magnentius*, that contrarily he ever publicly prayed to God to aid and assist *Constantius* against all his enemies; and the people also at the same time with loud vociferations cried out, Lord help and aid *Constantius*.

Lastly, as touching *Athanasius* his disobedience to the Emperours Orders; he knoweth not of any order, but what was mentioned to him by the Governor of *Egypt* by word of mouth, without shewing any in writing, and whereof *Athanasius* had cause to doubt, in regard of the many late favours received by him from *Constantius*. And therefore *Athanasius* told the Governour, if he had any such order, it was unduly gained; as afterwards he was informed it was framed upon surmise of a Letter supposed to be written by *Athanasius* to the Emperour *Constantius*; whereas none such was ever written

written or sent by him. All which *Athanasius* declared more at large in his *Apology to Constantius*, published amongst other of *Athanasius* his works.

The other invective (by those at the Council at *Antioch*, and more specially by *Leontius*; for it can deserve no better name than an invective) against *Athanasius*, for his unworthy deserting his flock in the time of danger: *Athanasius* made an *Apology*, as it is published amongst his other writings, wherein he justifies himself as in case of Persecution; and the same he proves by Scripture rules and examples, and tells his Detractors, that if it be a matter of scandal in *Athanasius* to flee in such case, its much more scandalous in them that by persecution enforced him thereunto.

Sect. II.

Athanas.
Apol. De
fuga.

C A P. XVI.

The Entry of George the Arian Bishop into Alexandria again the second time: His cruel Persecutions there. Athanasius his escape into the Wilderness. The Monks profession.

A *Thanasius* now gone, *George of Cappadocia*, formerly fled from *Alexandria*, is now become *George* on Horse-back, and like a Centaur returns with a strong guard of Soldiers and Arians as his supporters; and if formerly he was acted by one devil, he is now possessed by seven.

Sect. I.

Theod.

Lib. 2. c. 14.

Sec. lib. 2.

cap. 23.

seven. Their first endeavours are to make all sorts renounce the Nicene Faith; and coming in about Easter-time, he falls upon the stricter sort of Professors, and such as are most eminent, as his first dish. The Governours, Officers, and others intrusted, are ready at hand to execute the Emperours Orders; *Ursacius* and *Valens* attending at the Court, follow the chase with full speed, encouraging those that are forward, complaining of such as are backward, Twitching up such as are dull in the chase. And thus at *Alexandria* all the former joy is turned to sorrow, peace to tumult, mirth to mourning; nothing but tears, sighs, bewailings in every place; to see Bishops, Presbyters, Monks, Virgins, Old men, Women and Children, some seized upon and dragged to sentence, and from thence to executions; others banished, travelling up and down from one City to another, and from one Nation to another; others flying into the Wilderness amongst the wild beasts, to escape the fury of Christian beasts; and which is worst of all, many revolting and relapsing from the truth to Arianism: And yet in all this tempest the Church of God lost nothing; for whiles men beheld these poor sufferers and wanderers, wherever they go, their patience and constancy is admired, their persons pitied, the Truth inquired after, and honoured; the Persecuters and their Religion are had in abomination.

Sect. 2. Thus are the Christians at *Alexandria* destitute of these eminent Professors; and yet they continue their private Meetings, and about the time of Penitence hold a more solemn assembly of Prayer, and holy

holy Fast ; which being told to the Wolvish Bishop, he sends *Sebastians* a cruel Marichee, with his band of Soldiers ; (*For such as separate upon corrupt Principles, will make use of any instrument to serve their turns*) These Soldiers on the Lords day with their weapons and swords drawn, assailed the poor Christians in their meeting, or so many of them as were now left, for the time of publick Prayer was now past ; and of those whom the sword spared, some were whipped, others otherwise tortured ; some, especially the women, brought to the fire and threatned to be burned, but not so prevailing to make them renounce their faith, they were stripped and whipped, and used despitefully ; nor would they suffer relief to be administred to them, nor the dead martyred to be buried by their friends : In this cruelty they slew in *Egypt* thirty Bishops, or more, and banished fifteen others, besides those that fled into unknown places, and a multitude of Presbyters, and of those who were banished, few escaped without maims and wounds, so as many died in the way, and many more in the places of their confinement.

Amongst which thus fled, *Athanasius* must not be forgotten ; for having served the Church of God in Government, he must now serve the same in Banishment ; and having made his escape as hath been mentioned, he is now pursued night and day, by such as continually did lie in wait for his life. The particulars of his condition, and in what places he was all the time of his absence from *Alexandria*, is altogether left in doubt ; and great pity it is that we have no more thereof noted by writers. *Zona-*

ras saith, that *Constantius* banished him into Britain; which if so, proved a great mercy of God to our forefathers, who have derived the doctrine of the Holy Trinity uncorrupted, and so hath been maintained in this Island even to this day, and long may it last: but I suppose *Constantius* his thirst after *Athanasius* his blood, would not be so easily quenched by his banishment; nor can it stand with *Athanasius* his being escaped into the Wilderness, and his being in a Cave for six years; which if true, probably was the first six years after the Antiochian Council, when as the rage of his Enemies in their first heat, would put them to the strictest search that they could make; and *Athanasius* to the utmost shift that he could make. And this Cave might probably be in *Alexandria*, for it was nigh the dwelling of one that he might safely trust, and was acquainted with: It may be it was that choice Virgin so commended by the Historian, for her exceeding care of preserving *Athanasius* so secretly, as she would trust none but her self with ministering to him in whatsoever he wanted all the while, until her Maid-servant by continual observation had discovered it, and for hope of reward, told some of *Athanasius* his Enemies thereof; who preparing to apprehend him, *Athanasius* the night before going, suspecting his own safety in continuing there any longer, in the night time escaped away: and when the Searchers the next day came to sieze their prey, they found that he was not to be found; and suspecting themselves to be deluded by the maid, they took her, and punished her for her service.

Soz. lib. 4.
cap. 9.

Soz. lib. 5.
cap. 6.

The

The next newes that they hear of *Athanasius*, is, that he is somewhere in the Wilderness amongst the Monks: A people that in their first original began, from persecution of the Church from without the same by the heathens, and was then but a shift; but about the beginning of *Athanasius* his time, was much increased by persecution of the Church from within it self; and in continuance, was now grown into the honour of the highest strain of profession, and became in fashion. For by reason of these persecutions, some melancholick spirits dejected and distracted at the sad apprehensions arising from the present troubles, and seeing no hope of redress, chose rather to withdraw themselves from all secular affairs and common society, then to live continually in such troubles: And (as *Nazianzen* saith) gave themselves to a solitary life in Wildernesses, and other places apart, to live to God more, and to the world less then other men do, who are busied in earthly affairs every day. Amongst which people, he saith that in his dayes were several sorts; some being Hermits, wholly absent themselves from all society, and enjoy communion with God alone, knowing nothing of this world but solitariness. But others observe more the Law of Charity, by communion and society together amongst themselves: These are solitary also in their kind, and dead to the affairs of the world, and whatsoever turnings and changes there are in civil affairs, yet live they together in societies, and are busied in labour, reserving themselves nevertheless for the worship of God as their main end; accounting the men of the world imposters, and are a world to

*Nazian.
Encarn.
Athan.*

Soc. lib. 4.
cap. 18.

Soc. lib. 6.
cap. 28.

Athan.
Vit. Anter.

themselves, and do quicken the graces of one another, by contemplating each others vertues, mutually comparing themselves together, and emulating one another. Thus far *Nazianzen*. If therefore the apparel and diet of these men were unhandsome, mean, and in a manner sordid, its not to be wondred at, considering that they looked on outward conveniences but as accidental to their main end, which was quietness of mind; and therefore they abhorred idleness, and accounted such as did not labour to be rather Cheaters then Monks. This was a life not very suitable to flesh and bloud, and yet in those dayes were many multitudes of them, especially in the Egyptian Wildernesses: and though thus retired they were, yet still remained they under the survey of the Bishops; For its noted that *Serapion* one of the Egyptian Bishops had under his alone government ten thousand of them. They were also many of them learned men, and principal asserters of the doctrine Orthodox against the Hereticks in those dayes; and their writings, continued to this age wherein we live, sufficiently shew it. And with these men *Athanasius* was not unacquainted, no not when he was young; for even then he entred into acquaintance with that famous *Anthony* the Monk, and did exceedingly observe, or rather serve him; he was in account the very founder of the Monastical life by way of profession in the Wilderness of *Egypt*, and was a man of eminency for holiness; not onely in the Wilderness, but even in the Courts of Princes, and the Emperour himself. And after that *Athanasius* was Bishop, he often delighted

to

to visit the Monks in their Cells, and to converse with them; and now in his distresse he hath recourse to these, as to his securest refuge on Earth.

Nevertheless this was not all the work that God *Self.* had to do, thus to gain a refuge for *Athanasius* in the Wildernesse, nor is it all the end that *Athanasius* aims at, thus to hide himself, for even in the Wildernesse there must be rule and government, and though men live as it were out of the World, yet the Devil and their lusts follow them; so as though these Monks, to avoid occasions, do avoid affairs, though they aime to draw nigh to God, yet soon begin to forget themselves, and jarres and divisions befall them there: No form of profession, no separation from Christian Congregations and Assemblies, no nor from society in worldly affairs with mankind, will be a remedy against schismes and errors. A Bishop therefore, or (if that word please not) an Overseer is as necessary in the Wildernesse as at *Alexandria*, to interpose, advise, exhort, and by reproof to reduce men into wayes of Reason and Religion. And this proves to be *Athanasius* his work now he is in the Wildernesse: For (to take up the words of *Nazianzen*) *Athanasius* *Nazian.* was a reconciler in all places where he had to do, by *Eucrit.* his wisdom and example. And in the Wildernesse *Athanasius* now he labours to reduce amity and unity between the Monks and Hermites; letting them know that the holiest Monks stand in need of a Visitor or Overseer. And that in a Bishop, as *Athanasius* was, may be an excellent temperate of a speculative tranquility on the one part, and of practical morality

rality in political affairs on the other. And that Monastical life consisted rather in gravity and constancy in Christian conversation, then in solitarnesse or separation. And by this means *Athanasius* gained such authority and respect amongst these Wildernesse people, that what he pleased was a Law to them, and what he disliked they accounted as forbidden and execrable.

Señ. 6.

Whiles *Athanasius* is thus out of the way, men know not where nor which way; his enemies observe and examine all travellers, watch such as go out or come into *Alexandria*, search the ships, ransack the houses, make enquiry, bring disturbance amongst the brethren, forrage the Wildernesse, where supposing they have a scent of him, they search the Cells, examine the Monks, but they had as good ask the stones. They do so highly honour *Athanasius*, that they will not admit of any party with the persecutors, but offer their necks rather to the sword, and if any of them meet with any hardship for *Athanasius* his sake, they endure it with courage, accounting it a high strain of their profession, even beyond their daily fasts and watchings, and prostrations, and lying on the ground, which nevertheless they held in a great account amongst them.

Señ. 7.

And yet is *Athanasius* many times put to extream plunges. And is compelled to keep close and flie from one Cell to another, from thence to the Hermites, and at last from the company of men to get amongst the wilde beasts; for the malice of man he sufficiently understood was implacable.

Cui enim parcerent Ariani qui nec animis suis percerunt.

percerunt. The Arians will not spare *Athanasius*, who will not spare their own souls; yet there was means used to convey to him Letters, Messages, and necessities. But the pursuers are at length wearied, and return without their sport, yet watches are set in all places, with such care and diligence, that *Athanasius* dare not look abroad, and this he saith so sadded his spirit, that, *Nec lacrimis cessaveris ab oculis, nec gemitus ab animo*, &c. he spent his time in weeping and mourning, because he durst not go abroad to visit his brethren and parents then alive; nor adventure to look into the fresh aire; yet had he his times of studying and writing Letters and Discourses of vindicating himself and the truth; such as are his *Epist. ad Solitariam Vitam agentes*; his Apologies *De fuga sua*, and another *ad Constantium*, and his second Apology, His Epistle *ad Serapion*, concerning the Deity of the Holy Ghost; his Consolatory Letter to the Holy Virgins, and other discourses, whereof all ages ever since have reaped the benefit; God hereby making his Wildernesse our Paradiſe, and the losse of *Alexandria* our gain; yet was that good man so far sensible of his condition, as to endeavour by all means to regain his liberty, and sometimes it in his purpose to come in and cast himself at *Constantius* his feet for mercy, and one time was so fully resolved, as to do it forthwith, but even at the same time news comes of a new fire kindled in *Constantius* his brest, that burst out with great fury against the Western Bishops; an unmeet time this is for *Athanasius* to adventure, and therefore he now rather keeps himself more concealed then ever;

Athan.
Epist. ad
Lucii.

Athan.
Apol. ad
Constan.

yet do not his friends at *Alexandria* give over, they still by all the friends they can make to gain access into *Constantius* his favour in behalf of *Athanasius*, but still receive the repulse; his rage swells the more, the more he is sought to. He commands the Alexandrians to submit and be silent; he tells them that *Athanasius* is an impostor, a conjurer, a wicked wretch, a cheator, worthy to die a thousand deaths, and many such disgraceful reproaches, like an Emperour he heaped upon him. And thus brave *Athanasius* at once suffered in his good name, his body, and mind, yet with a pure conscience he maintains the field.

C A P. XVII.

The Council at Millain intended against Athanasius, yet in vain.

Act. 1.

BUT the Arians think *Athanasius* quite routed and gone, and all their care is to entrench and fortifie themselves against his return; for so long as he is alive, they fear he will retreat and face about again. And therefore supposing that *Constantius* is able to sway a General Council, they prevail with him to call a General Council at *Millain*, for they mean to beat the Bishop of *Rome* and the Western Bishops upon their own dung-hill, and expecting that the Bishop of *Rome* will be personally there, they resolve to assault him in the midst of his strength. This Bishop

now

Theod.
lib. 2. c. 15.
Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 29.

now was *Liberius*, for *Julius* was lately dead; and *Liberius* a new intrant, is suspected by the Arians to be a dangerous man, and must be reclaimed at the first, before he takes deeper root, and do more hurt. The Council being assembled, many of them out of the East, but about three hundred out of the West, the Eastern Bishops propound that a Decree might be made for the confirming of the banishment of *Athanasius*, never to return to *Alexandria* again. But the Western Bishops no whit abashed at the boldness of the Eastern Bishops, *Paulinus* Bishop of *Triers*, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Vercellis*, and *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alba* told the Eastern Bishops plainly, that the proceedings of the Eastern Bishops against *Athanasius* had been altogether unjust. That none of the crimes charged against *Athanasius* were ever proved, nor he ever allowed liberty to answer for himself; and that its notoriously known to all the World, that what had been done against *Athanasius*, whether at the Council at *Tyrus*, or at the Council at *Antioch*, was not done to finde out and favour the truth, but to oppresse it. And which is yet worse, it is evident that this their proposal beginning against *Athanasius*, will end in the subversion of the determinations of the Council at *Nice*, which the Western Bishops resolved they would never yield unto; and thereupon they dismiss the Council. The Emperour *Constantius* finding himself neither feared nor loved, but contrarily that they are not afraid to declare in the publique Council, that his government was wicked and unjust, he forth-with, without hearing of them, banishes divers of them. *Hoffius* the old

Sez. lib. 4.
cap. 8.

Athan.
Epist. ad
Solit. Vic.

Bishop of Corduba, being one of the Council, a man of great learning, wisdom, and sharpnesse of wit, a grave man, now about a hundred years old, and highly revered of all, wrote a Letter to the Emperour, *Beseeching him to hearken to the advice of his servant, now grown old in experience of the contrivances of the enemies of the Church, even the Arians whom he had well known and observed in their course, even from their first budding forth; and that he ever found them such, as that he cannot but in faithfulness unto him, beseech him to beware of their wayes and Councils, which cannot endure the light; and therefore would not appear at the Sardican Council, which was called by the Emperours own Authority, whereto also they were summoned; and where their criminations against Athanasius were found and declared malicious deceitful forgeries. And therefore it will not be for the Emperours Honour, nor peace of conscience, to decline the advice of his Council of so many Bishops fearing God and approving themselves faithful to his Imperial Majesty: Nor to engage his power and authority in the defence of those dangerous and abominable errors of Arius; Much lesse will it be safe for him to adventure so deeply in the pursuit of Athanasius, without hearing of his cause; and first of all if he take into consideration his former Letters, Messages, Promises, Oath, and publick Edicts. And as it becomes Hosius in faithfulness to mind the Emperour hereof; so also will it not be unbecoming the Emperour to take it in good part; and therefore he prayed the Emperour to remember that he is a mortal man, and to fear the Day of Judgement, and to be sure that*
he

we keep a good conscience against that Dreadful Day.

But *Constantius* used to be humoured by the flatteries of the Arian Bishops, and lifted up by the glorious titles that they give him; and especially by that new invented Title of *Eternal Emperour*, which he brooked very well, (and yet could be contented to deny the Son of God to be Eternal) could not endure this bitter pill of plain dealing from *Hossius*, but his anger rised and forth-with he banishes *Hossius* also. And then he sends *Eusebius* an Eunuch, that waited on him, to *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, to draw him off from the Orthodox Profession, and to gain him to subscribe to *Athanasius* his Banishment; and accordingly *Eusebius* used all his craft by exhortations, promises, tenders of reward, threats of the Emperours displeasure, and danger that would follow; but all in vain: *Liberius* is deaf to all. Then the Emperour sent for *Liberius* to come to him, and being come, this parly ensued, which I shall rather Relate then Translate.

Const. We have thought meet *Liberius*, in regard that you are a Christian, that you should be Bishop of *Rome*, and we have sent to you to require you forth-with to renounce communion with *Athanasius* and all his opinions: For the Synod hath declared him excommunicate, and the whole world goeth that way.

Liber. Sir, The judgements of the Church ought to be according to justice; and therefore let *Athanasius* be brought to trial according to the Orders of the Church,

Church, for he ought not to be condemned by those who never heard him speak for himself.

Const. The whole world hath condemned his wickednesse, but that he deludeth all men.

Liber. The Bishops who have sentenced him, have done they know not what; but have been drawn to do what they did for fear of man, desire of glory, and avoid reproach.

Const. What fear, what glory, what reproach?

Liber. Whoever loves not the Glory of God, but prefers your favour, O Emperour, above it, and condemn a man that they never saw, is unworthy of the name of a Christian.

Const. True, but Athanasius was consulted, and was present at the Council of Tyrus, which was a general Council.

Liber. No Sir, he was not present when they passed the sentence, nor did they sentence him till he was departed.

Eusebius the Eunuch, The Synod had declared Athanasius to be false from the Faith.

Liber. That Synod did appoint five persons to enquire further evidence against Athanasius, who went for that end to Marcotis. Two of which, viz. Theognis and Theodorus are now dead, the other three, viz. Maris, Valens, and Ursatius, at the Council at Sardica confessed that the evidence at Marcotis against Athanasius was forged. Whom then shall we believe? those that condemned Athanasius, and then acknowledged their error? or those that now would condemn him without further evidence?

Epictetus a Bishop, Speaking to the Emperour, said that Liberius did speak, not so much from any desire

desire that he had of Justice, but that it might be sold at Rome that he had put the Emperour to silence.

Const. What are you Liberius, that you alone will side with Athanasius? and trouble the peace of the world in this manner?

Liber. My being the only man, O Emperour, cannot weaken the word of Truth: For there was a time when but three persons withstood a publique Edict.

Eusebius the Eunuch, Do you Liberius compare the Emperour Constantius to Nebuchadonozzer?

Liber. No Sir, but you can without reason condemn a man that never appeared before you. Call to mind I beseech you, and consider the general consent of the Council at Nice, and call home the Bishops and others banished, and if they shall appear troublers of the Church, let matters appear at a General Council at Alexandria; and let Justice be done.

Epictetus. There will be scarcely found carriages enough for such a company so far.

Liber. Every Church may send their Bishop by Sea, if that be the nighest way, and carriages may be for the rest.

Const. That which is done, must not be undone; the sentence is already past against Athanasius, and yet you alone will stand to maintain communion with that wicked man.

Liber. A Judge must not passe sentences out of private spleen against any man, nor without hearing of him.

Const.

Const. He hath troubled all men, but especially my self; he was not satisfied with my brother Constantines death, but did what he could to set strife between my brother Constant and my self; and I endured it: I never was more glad of any victory against my enemy, then I am that Athanasius, that wicked man, is now removed out of my way.

Liber. Donot, O Emperor, revenge your self upon Bishops, they should be encouraged for the preserving of holiness. Restore them to their places, and if they be found agreeing to the Nicene Faith, let them consider with a lawful Council, for the maintaining of the publique Unity, and suffer not an innocent person to be oppress'd.

Const. Do you Liberius what I order; Subscribe your consent with the rest of the Bishops, and then return you to Rome with all my heart.

Liber. I have bidden adieu to my brethren at Rome, the Lames of the Church are deare to me, then is my dwelling at Rome.

Const. You shall have three dayes to consider whether you will live at Rome, or where you will; but you must subscribe.

Liber. Neither three dayes, nor three moneths, can change my principles; send me whether you please.

Const. Then I order that Liberius shall after two dayes be required to subscribe, and if he shall then refuse, I command that he be banished to Berea in Thracia, and let him have five hundred shillings for the charge of his journey.

Liber. I pray you let the five hundred shillings be given to the souldiers, for they need it.

The Emperre. *Let five hundred shillings more be given to Liberius from me.*

Liber. *Carry that also to the Emperour, towards his expedition, but if that needs not, he may please to give it to Auxentius and Epictetus, for they need it.*

Eusebius the Eunuch importunately urged Liberius to take the money.

Liber. *You have wasted the Churches, Eusebius, and now will you give almes? go first and be a Christian.*

And thus after two dayes Liberius went into banishment. And about the same time also Hillarius Bishop of Poitiers was also banished for plain and wholesome Counsel given to the Emperour, but mistaken by him. And now are the Arians Lords alone, and might sit down and enjoy their liberty. But yet not so; For where error is the principle, there is no rest but a continual progresse from one to more, and from more to many more. And besides the subordinate natural birth that Arianisme brought forth, there sprung also divers bastard errors, whereof some tended to dis-inherit the very Arian principles and turn them out of doors. Of which number about this time arose that of the Photinians, so named from Photinus, who had his principles from Marcellus, whose disciple he had been. The principal points which he taught were, *That God is One and Alone, and not subsisting in Persons. That Christ is a man, begotten by a man, and not from eternity. That the Holy Ghost is God, and no distinct Person.* Which if so, then the Arian principles

Seft. 4.

Soz. lib. 4.
cap. 4.

principles are destroyed; and the Arians must value their Bonnet to *Photinus*, take up his name, and lay aside their own.

CAP. XVIII.

The Council at Syrmium against Photinus. The Arian Confession there made, whereby both Hosius and Liberius are ensnared.

*Self. 1.
Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 24 & 5.
26.
Soz. lib. 4.
cap. 5.*

THe Emperour was at *Syrmium*, when as *Photinus* began to act his part, and it incensed him not a little, that such innovations durst put up head in his own presence; and therefore he is easily induced to call a Council there, whereas *Photinus* was at that time Bishop. The Arians furthered him also therein, being as earnest therein as himself, and procured the Emperour also to send for *Hosius*, whom once gained, they hoped to gain many more; and he came, though unwillingly, as he had cause. In the transaction thereof the Arians dealt cunningly: For they made a Confession of Faith, that on the one side aimed to strike *Photinus* in the right vein; and which also on the other side may go down with *Hosius* and others of his way, and yet must be safe for the Arians to approve. For the Council consisted most of such. And this Confession is thus framed.

We believe in one God, Father Almighty, the Maker and Framer of all things; of whom all the Father-hood in Heaven and Earth is named. And in his only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, before all ages begotten of the Father. God of God, Light of Light, by whom all things are made which are in Heaven and in Earth, visible and invisible: who is the Word, Wisdom, True Light and Life. Who in these last dayes is made Man for us, born of the Holy Virgin, crucified, dead, and who arose from the dead the third day, and ascended into Heaven; sits at the right hand of God the Father; and shall come at the end of the World to judge the Living and the Dead, and to render to every man according to his works, of whose Kingdome there is no end, but remaineth for ever. For He shall sit at the right hand of the Father, not onely whilst this World last, but also in the World to come. And in the Holy Ghost, that is the Comforter; whom the Lord promised to send after his Ascension unto his Disciples, that He might teach them, and mind them all things, and did send Him; by whom the souls of such as sincerely believe in Him are sanctified.

1. Those therefore that affirm that the Son is of things which are not, or of any other substance then of God the Father. Or that there was time or age when He was not; are accursed.

2. So if any man affirm that the Father and the Son are two Gods.

3. Or that Christ was God before all ages, and therewith doth not confesse that the Son of God with the Father made all things.

4. Or

4. Or that the Son of God or any part of Him is begotten of Mary.

5. Or that the Son is born of Mary according to fore-knowledge, and not before all ages begotten of the Father, and was with God; and that by Him all things were made.

6. Or that the substance of God may be dilated or contracted.

7. Or that the essence of God dilated, makes the Son, or shall call the Son as it were the dilating of His Essence.

8. Or shall call the Son, the Word of God in the mind of the Father seated, or the Word brought forth.

9. Or that God Man is begotten of the Virgin Mary, understanding thereby that God is begotten.

10. Or that shall expound these words [besides Me there is no God] to exclude thereby the onely begotten, who is God from everlasting.

11. Or shall expound those words [the Word was made Flesh] to be transmutation into Flesh.

12. Or by crucifying the onely begotten Son of God, shall understand that the Son of God did undergo passion, destruction, change, diminution, or annihilation.

13. Or that shall expound these words [Let us make man, &c.] as spoken from God the Father to himself and not to God the Son.

14. Or that shall affirm that Jacob wrestled with God as God, or with God the Father, and not with the Son as Man.

15. Or shall expound those words [the Lord joined from the Lord] not of the Father and the Son;

Son ; but the Father raised from Himself.

16. Or that shall expound those forms of speech, [God the Father, or God the Son, or God of God] is determine two Gods thereby.

17. Or when he saith, Lord of Lords, shall thereby understand two Gods.

For we do not place the Son in the same degree with the Father ; but we make Him subject to the Father.

18. Or shall affirm the Father , Son, and Holy Spirit to be one Person.

19. Or that calling the Holy Ghost the Comforter, shall intend thereby God begotten.

20. Or that shall call any the Comforter , besides Whom the Son of God hath so called.

21. Or that shall affirm the Holy Ghost to be part of the Father and the Son.

22. Or that the Son as one of the Creatures is made by the will of the Father.

23. Or that the Son is begotten without the will of the Father.

24. Or that Jesus Christ the Son of God is not from Eternity ; but to be the Son , and Christ only, when he was born of Mary , and began then to be God ; as Samosetanus said.

This Confession thus framed , as on the one side it doth not assert that the Son is consubstantial with the Father , so on the other side it saith not in so many words that he is like to the Father. So being as it were silent in the point of similitude, they hoped both the Orthodox and the Arian would subscribe thereto , and agree in the con-

demning of *Photinus*, if he should prove obstinate.

Sect. 2.

Besides this Confession thus framed, there were two other Confessions offered, which were suffered to passe abroad; but which of all these was offered to *Photinus* to subscribe, appeareth not by the History; but it appeareth that *Photinus* refused to subscribe, and undertook to defend his opinions by dispute; yet not satisfying the Council, they declared him excommunicated, and banished him; and accordingly he retired himself all his dayes. Neverthelesse he published a discourse against all Heresies. For even Hereticks will condemne Heresies.

Sect. 3.

Of these two other Confessions one is wholly concealed by the Historians, onely they say that therein that the words *Substance* and *Consubstantial* were not onely omitted, but expressly forbidden to be used either in teaching or disputation. For the way to bring in Heresie, is to do it by degrees, they first conceal the words that do difference truth from error, and then afterwards foist in words that may lead in their errors. But this is not all; for in the same Confession thus concealed, they affirm, *That the Father is greater then the Son in Honour, Dignity, and Deity, and in the Name Father. And that the Father is without beginning; and that the Generation of the Son is known onely to the Father.* But as touching the third Confession, although it be not concealed; yet it seems it was reserved to be owned by another Council, as not so fitting for the present purpose, where such divers Confessions were propounded, and the members

bers each of them abounding in their own several senses, might by multiplying debates break off without concluding against *Photinus*, and so evaporate into nothing.

Photinus thus dispatched, *Hossius* comes upon the stage, and is required to subscribe, but he acquainted with these debates, refused their offer; which being told the Emperour, and the whole credit of their proceedings at the Council depending much thereupon, they use all fair means they can invent to gain him to their bent; but not prevailing, they fall to Imperial commands, from thence to threats, and from threats to blows, and lastly by tortures they compel the good old man to subscribe the Confession, but could not prevail with him to subscribe to their proceedings against *Athanasius*; at last seeing they could not gain all, they seem contented in what was done, and they dismiss him to his Bishoprick again. And then they call for *Liberius*, now famous for his stout defence of *Athanasius* before the Emperour: him they tell what others had done, and how that famous *Hossius* had agreed to their proceedings, and shewed to him his subscription; and accordingly they require *Liberius* to do the like. *Liberius* hereupon shewed himself the successor of *St. Peter* too much, in that though he said formerly three dayes, nor three months could change his reason, yet it seems three years did: For the History mentions not otherwise, but that he submitted to whatsoever they demanded of him. But *Hossius* was much troubled for what he had done, and living not long after, made his last Will, and therein protested against the Em-

Self. 4.

Athanas.
Apol. 2.

Baron. An.
357. num.
46.

Athan.
Epist. ad
Solit. VII.

perous cruelty and enforcement of his Subscription, utterly renouncing all the Arian opinions, and died Orthodox. Albeit there are not wanting some that make sad conjectures concerning him, yet *Athanasius* bears him witness, that his infirmity herein was (*Seni imbecillitate, and exilis radio*) caused by the weakness of old age, and the misery he had endured in his banishment, and that thereby he was (*in part verberibus*) unable to endure tortures; and so he gave place for a time, yet a famous and worthy man he is in *Athanasius* his esteem. And as for *Liberius*, *Baronius* assureth us, that after he subscribed, and returned to *Rome*, where he was formerly exceedingly beloved, there were many that took scandal at him, and made a schism in his Church, divers of them going along with *Felix*, who had been Bishop in his absence, and never would communicate with *Liberius* so long as *Felix* lived; But after his death, they (upon many testimonies of *Liberius* his repentance) submitted to joyn with him again.

The falls of these two great lights of the Church (though thus cleared to all) shook the Orthodox Christians exceedingly, and made many to stagger at the first news thereof, and may serve to mind, especially old Professors, (as *Baronius* doth-) often to use that prayer of the Psalmist, *And now when I am old and gray headed, O Lord forsake me not*; more especially in this instant of apostacy wherein we now live.

Thus the Council at *Syracum* hath done somewhat towards the advancement of the Arian Cause, yet upon cool consideration, casting up their accounts

compts, they find little gains from their Confessions; what they have gotten, they gained by scratching, and when they have it, they may put it in their eyes and see not one whit the worse: Nay they begin to think themselves loofers, and in the conclusion are sorry for what they have done. Somewhat is found in their Confession, which can hardly be defended from being contradictory to some other clause therein; and thereupon to amend their error, they apply themselves to the Emperour, to gain his Proclamation to call in all the Copies of their Confession that passed abroad; which the Emperour does, with a penalty for such as shall refuse, or neglect to bring in such Copies as they have; but all in vain, the recalling them in, makes them scatter the more abroad, and the error made more notorious: and in conclusion to repair their credit, they publish to the world the confession of their Confession, That somewhat was done *per simulationem*, and *Veteratorie*, by guile and cheat to overreach; and it may be all that they did was so done. For if such as separate upon unwarrantable grounds may come to cheat in the confession of their Faith, they will much more do it in the profession of their life: But for all this, the Arians are neither satisfied in what they have done, nor in what they have undone; they therefore have another confession of Faith in the Bank, which they reserve for another Council to hold forth, for they cannot pass it at *Syrminum*, and therefore they will have one Council more, yea they will have many more; hoping at length that the Orthodox Bishops will either be weary of coming to their Councils, and find ex-

Nazian.
Euseb.
Athen.

cuses of absence; or if they come, that the Emperours presence will so appal them, that they will be so wise as to keep silence, and suffer the game to go for the Arians without contradiction.

CAP. XIX,

The Councils at Arminum and Seleucia. The Arian Confession of Faith there. The Schism between the Arians, and the Semi-Arians.

SECT. 1.

Sec. lib. 2.

cap. 29.

Theod. lib.

2. c. 18-20.

Soz. lib. 4.

cap. 15.

Bin. Concil.

col. 479.

Hitherto the Arians are against the person of *Athanasius* immediately, but henceforth more bold, during the remainder of *Constantine* his reign they directly face, and endeavour to outface the doctrine of the Council at *Nice*. And for this purpose; the Emperour calls another general Council at *Arminum* in *Italy*, where the Assembly was so great, for there were nigh four hundred Bishops; that the Arians fearing that they should be shamefully overmatched, complain to the Emperour that *Arminum* is too far for the Eastern Bishops to come unto, and therefore advise the Emperour that there may be two Councils holden at once, one in the East, and another in the West; which they did the rather hoping thereby to divide the Orthodox party, and distract their Councils the more. And the Emperour accordingly appointed the Eastern Bishops to meet at *Nicomedia*, and that the Western Bishops should

should still hold their meeting at *Arminum*. The meeting at *Nicomedia*, was first designed to be at *Nice*, but the Bishops liked not thereof: Possibly the name of the place reflected upon their Consciences, and therefore it was agreed to be at *Nicomedia*; it was agreed by them, but God agreed not thereto; for before their meeting there, an Earthquake meets there, the houses falling in several places, they are fiered by their own Hearths, and then fire others; so as between the fire and the Earthquake, the whole Citie is consumed, few of the people escaping, because they knew not whither to turn themselves. Hereupon the meeting of the Council that should have been there, is determined to be at *Nice*; but it was otherwise determined by God; for even thither the Earthquake comes, and interposed their meeting, to the amazement of the Bishops, who knew not whither to go: At last, *Selencia* a Citie of *Isauria*, is thought upon; and so at last, these two Councils are settled, about the two and twentieth year of *Constantine* his Reign: although some make it to be two years later. Whether the Eastern Bishops were entertained at the Emperors charge, I finde not; but its said that the Western Bishops at *Arminum*, refused the Emperors entertainment, and served at their own charges all of them, saving two Bishops that came from *Brittain*, who were poor, and therefore had the Emperors allowance.

Theod.
lib. 2. c. 26.
A han.
Epiſt. de.
Synod.
Soz. lib. 3.
cap. 19.

Bin. 479.

The Councils being both of them thus settled to their work, the Emperour prescribes them rules for the ordering of their proceedings, amongst which these especially are mentioned. That they should

Seſt. 2.

Athan.
Epist. de
Synod.

from time to time certify the Emperour their proceedings by ten of the members of each Council. Secondly, that neither of the said Councils should intermeddle with the proceedings of each other. Lastly, that they should first proceed concerning the settling of the Doctrine and Faith, and then against criminal offenders. The Council met at *Arminium*, begins accordingly with the Doctrine. And first *Ursatius* and *Valens*, *Acasius* and *Eudoxius*, with the rest of the Arian party, propound to the consideration of the Synod to agree in one Confession of Faith, which once done would facilitate a way to all other their proceedings; and in order thereto they produce a Confession of Faith, formerly framed at the Council at *Syrminum*, and which they reserved to be considered and confirmed by another Council; and then established by the Imperial power. This Confession thus produced, they said was already concluded at *Syrminum*, but it was now produced to be by this Council affirmed without any debate. And that then this Council at *Arminium* should do well to disanul all other Forms or Confessions of Faith, and make them void. This Confession thus produced, I shall recite it as I find it in *Secrates*; because it more suireth in the Preface to the Copy that *Athanasius* had, then doth that mentioned by *Baronius*.

This

This Catholick Faith (in the presence of Our Lord *Constantinus Flavius*, *Eusebins* and *Hyrinus* being Consuls) at *Syrminum* the eleventh of the Calends of *June*, was published.

We believe in one onely and true God, the Father Almighty, Maker and Worker of all things: And in one onely begotten Son of God, who was before all ages, and before all beginning, and before all time which can be conceived, and before all intelligible Notion, begotten of God the Father without all passion; by whom as well all generations, as all things are made; the one begotten alone of the Father, alone begotten; God of God, like to the Father who begat Him, according to the Scriptures. whose generation none knows but the Father alone who begat Him. This his onely begotten Son we know by the will of the Father, came from Heaven to take away sinne; He was born of the Virgin Mary, conversed with disciples, according to His Fathers will fulfilled all order, was crucified, suffered death, descended to Hell, fulfilled all things there; at whose presence the porters of Hell trembled; the third day he arose again, and again conversed with His disciples, and after forty dayes ascended to Heaven, to sit on the right hand of the Father. And shall come at the last day in the Fathers glory to render to every one according to his works. And in the Holy Spirit (which the onely begotten Son of God Jesus Christ promised to send to man) the Comforter.

The word Substance, when we speak of God, we take

take away, and forbid to be used; yet we affirm the Son in all things to be like the Father.

Self. 3.

This is the first time that I finde that point concerning our Saviour Christs descending to Hell to be mentioned in the publike Confession of the Faith; the credit whereof, as also of other points of this Confession which were in controversie in those times, doth not a little depend upon the patrons of this Confession *Ursatius* and *Valent*, they not onely being Arians, but relaxed Arians, and had entertainment by the Council at *Arminum* accordingly; for the Orthodox Bishops there assembled exceeding the Arians in number by much, did according as the Arians propounded; they would neither debate the particulars thereof, nor the whole, but told the Arians that they came not thither to seek a new faith, but to assert the old faith determined and agreed by the Council at *Nice*, and to convince all gain-sayers, and all such as would innovate; it was evident, they who produced this new Confession intended to do. They further told the Arians, that themselves resolved to adhere to the *Nicean* Faith which they had received, and would agree to nothing more or lesse then that. And that they would hold to the very words *Substance* and *Consubstantial*. And thereupon the Council at *Arminum* proceeded to depose and banish the Arian Bishops who had produced and insisted upon this new Confession; and then they framed a Narrative of what they had done, and sent it by ten Bishops, members of their Assembly, to *Constantius*, wherein they told the Emperour plainly that they would not

not recede from the Nicene Faith, no not a nails breadth. But the Arian Messengers more swift of foot, first gained into *Constantinus* his presence, and possessed him with prejudice; so as the other Messengers could gain no admittance nor audience, whom I must leave in expectation, till something from the Council at *Seleucia* come up in equal front with these from *Arminum*.

The Council at *Seleucia* did meet to the number, Sect. 4. 3 of about one hundred and fifty Bishops, where though no earthquake was; as at *Nice* and *Nicomedia*, yet there befel that which was as ill for the Arian party, or rather much worse. For though they were generally Arians, and not very spiritual, yet were men of spirit, and such as the Emperor thought would want an Overseer to keep them in peace. And therefore he appointed *Leonas* and *Laurentius*, two Commanders of the Army, to see to the maintaining of the peace; and these men having both authority and power, did what they were authorised to do, and more also, as it afterwards proved. For upon the meeting of the Council at *Seleucia*, it soon appeared that as Arians they were, yet they were not all alike Arian, some differed from others, and in this Council contrary to one another: Some were Arians, some Semi-Arians, these were in principles like to *Arius*, but could not endure to be reputed *Arians*, his disciples. And they did acknowledg the divine substance in the Son of God, yet would not retain the word *Consubstantial*; and therefore rejected the Nicene Faith for the onely sake of that word. And of this sort was *Basil* Bishop of *Ancira*, *Mac-*

Bin. Conc.

Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 31.

cedonius

Cedonius, *Eustacius*, and others. But others there were who would not allow of any divine substance in Christ, or any likeness in him with the Father, and therefore are called Arians by way of Emphasis; and of this number were *Acasius* Bishop of *Casaria*, *Endoxius* Bishop of *Antioch*, *George* Bishop of *Alexandria*, *Ursacius* Bishop of *Tyrus*, and others.

Señ. 3.

These Bishops thus met at *Seleucia*, first are at variance about the manner of their proceedings. The *Acasians* would first proceed against *Cyril* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, and others complained of as criminous. But *Basil* and others insist upon the Emperours order, and therefore would begin with matters concerning the doctrine of Faith, and in this difference the Council was so divided, that they never re-united afterward; but yet the major part carried their proceedings according to the Emperours order, first beginning with the doctrine of Faith. Then the *Acasians* move that the Confession of Faith by the Council at *Nice*, ought first be abrogated and taken out of the way, before the Council could be free to conclude any matters concerning the same. But the Semi-Arians like not that, resolving to hold to the Nicene Faith, onely they would have some explanation or alteration of that word *Consubstantial*. After long debate, *Sylvanus* one of the Semi-Arians moved that the Confession of Faith made by the Council at *Antioch*, might be taken into consideration. And the next day the Semi-Arians prevailed to have it read, as it's formerly set down, and after long debate the Council carried it that the same should be confirmed

med and subscribed, and whiles the same was thus passing at the Council, they caused the doors to be shut, to avoid interruption. *Acasius* seeing the doors shut, told them that things done thus in secret are suspicious; and desired that they would delay that work, in regard that himself and others had in readinesse another Confession of Faith, which he produced, and desired that the same might be read, which could not then be obtained.

But on the third day, *Macedonius* joyning with the Semi-Arians were so strong, that the *Acasians* withdrew themselves, and departed from the Council. But on the fourth day *Leonas* appointed by the Emperor to preserve the peace, interposed, and stretched his Authority so far, as he prevailed to have the *Acasian* Confession read in the Council; and thereupon the debate is renewed in the Council, for the framing of a new Confession, but that whole day was also fruitlessly spent, and nothing could be concluded, and so the Council dissolved for that day also: The next day the Council met again, but the *Acasians* came not, then are they often called one by one, but none appearing, the Council proceeds against them as deserters, and banish them, and elect *Ananias* Bishop of *Antioch*, in the room of *Eudoxius*. Thereupon the *Acasians* apprehend *Aminius*, and deliver him to *Leonas* by whom he is banished. Souldiers may be good at keeping off fifty cuffs, but not schisms, and of the twain are better for peace, then truth: These *Arians* thus divided from the Church, divide amongst themselves; for if separation be from a rule, and not to a rule, it is *divisibilis in semper divisibilis*, without all; and especially if it be so unhappy

py as to have a quiet Toleration: But the news of this Schism coming to *Constantius*, he resolves to have the hearing thereof before himself, yet not in the presence of the *Seleucian* Council, but by their Delegates, ten of each party to attend him for that purpose.

Self. 7.

During these Transactions at *Seleucia*, the Messengers of the Council at *Arminum*, having attended long upon the Emperors leisure, at length obtains audience, and the Emperor upon the reading of the Letter from *Arminum*, writes another Letter to the Council, importing that the matter of their Letter, and required time to advise upon it; and that the Emperour was now intent upon an expedition against the Barbarians, and after his return he will give them further satisfaction, and in the mean time his will is that they shall continue sitting in Council, till they receive further order from him. To this Letter the Council returned answer that they cannot undo what they have done, nor disclaim their principles. And therefore again beseech him to confirm what they have done; and to grant them leave to depart to their Churches before Winter comes on, many of them being aged, and having far to go. But the Emperour still makes delays; so as many of the Bishops depart from the Council, without the Emperours leave, only a few who lived in the adjacent parts to *Arminum* stayed.

Self. 8.

During this tergiversation, the Arian Delegates from the Arian party at the Council at *Arminum*, had prevailed with the Emperour to take their Confession of Faith into consideration at a petty Council,

Council, called for that and the like purposes at *Nice* in *Thracia*, where upon small consideration, this Confession of Faith contrived at *Syrminum*, and proposed at *Arminum*, is soon determined and confirmed; and the Emperour thus strengthened in his Faith, first imposeth it upon the Orthodox Delegates sent from *Arminum*, and compelled them by force to subscribe thereto; and then the Emperour sent it to the Council at *Arminum* to be subscribed and confirmed by them; but it is immediately delivered to the Emperours Lieutenant in *Italy*, *Ursacius* and *Valens* accompanying it, who are commanded to see the same put in execution, and that such as shall refuse to subscribe thereunto, shall be forth-with banished; which work was so pleasing unto these two Bishops, that they see the same executed to the utmost, with all rigor upon this small remnant of the Council that continued at *Arminum*, and in all other places, so far as the Emperours power could reach, by meanes whereof as many of them were banished, so there wanted not some that did subscribe the same.

C. A. P.

CAP. XX.

The Councils at Constantinople and at Antioch: Constantius his Death.

Sect. I.

Constantius hath one work more to do, wherein he must have the help of another Council. The thing is to cure the wound made amongst the Arians by the Seleucian Schism, and for this cause a Council is called at *Constantinople*, of the neighbouring Bishops of *Thracia* and *Bythinia*, wherein the Emperour did what possibly he could to make up the breach, by commending both and blaming both, yet can he not prevail; and therefore he lastly takes off the heads of both, and removes such as he apprehends to be of greatest authority on either part, and banished on the one part *Eudoxius* and *Aetius*, who were Arians of the highest size, and on the other part *Basil* Bishop of *Ancyra* and others; the first was done in justice for maintaining that the Son of God is unlike the Father, which was contrary to the doctrine of the Syrmian Faith, now the Emperours Faith. The later was done in anger for personal respects. However in the main the Emperour seemed to carry himself equally, because he spared neither party. But the Council at *Constantinople* seeing the Emperours endeavour unsuccessful, they take up another course, and hope to finde out a Confession of Faith, that may seem to hold forth the truth, and yet not dis-affirm either the Emperours Confession at *Syrmium*, nor that of the Arians;

fians, nor of the Semi-Arians, but consist with all; and this they more easily and readily compose, because they make the Emperours Confession their ground-work, and over-lay the same with a varnish of other words, not apparently altering the substance, but explaining it in manner following.

*Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 32.*

We believe in one God the Father Almighty, from whom are all things. And in the only begotten Son of God, begotten of God before all ages, and before all beginning; by whom all things are made, visible and invisible, the alone only begotten of the Father, alone begotten God of God, like to the Father which begat him according to the Scriptures; whose generation no man knows, but the Father only which begat him. We know this only begotten Son of God to be sent from the Father, to have descended from Heaven, as it is written, and conversed with Disciples; and having fulfilled all order, according to his Fathers will, to be crucified, dead and buried; to have descended into Hell, at whom the Devils trembled; to have risen from the dead the third day, conversed with his Disciples, and after forty dayes taken up into Heaven, to sit on the right hand of the Father. That he shall come at the last day of the Resurrection with the glory of his Father, that he may render to every one according to his Works. And in the Holy Ghost, whom the only begotten Son of God, Christ the Lord and our God promised, that he would send to Mankind: The Comforter, as it is written, the Spirit of Truth, which he sent when He was taken up into Heaven.

The word [Substance] we utterly disallow and take away.

The word Subsistence of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, ought likewise not to be mentioned. We affirm that the Son is like to the Father.

Sect. 2.

And thus the Arians produce many formes contrary to the Nicene Confession, to the end, that if they gain not the day for their principles to settle in the minds of men, yet at least their minds may be possessed with many notions, and unsettled in the Nicene Doctrine. And that these notions may seem more solid, they are countenanced by Councils, whose pride would never suffer them to stoop to the truth, nor to the same expressions of one and the same error. And these Councils are holden many of them at the same place or places of the same name where formerly Orthodox Councils were holden, as at *Nice, Sardica, and Arminum*, that the common people might be confounded the more in their right understandings of the determination of their principles. Nevertheless the Arian wound still bleeds fresh: *Manasse* is against *Ephraim*, and both against *Judah*. The Acaſians are angry both with the Semi-Arians and Orthodox, but the Semi-Arians are stark mad against the Orthodox; *Macedonius* the Leader of the Semi-Arians spares none that comes within his Ecclesiastical Power, and will not communicate with him, and where his Ecclesiastical Power falls short, the souldiers help him with fire and sword,

*Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 30.*

But

But the Orthodox will not satisfy them; the Novatians also stand in their way, though they communicate not with the Orthodox, yet they will not communicate with *Macedonius*, and therefore he heaps on them all the insolencies that the souldiers can devise, with that extremity, that the Novatians can endure no longer, but take armes in their own defence, and in a plain battel in the field winne a victory, with the effusion of much blood, both of the Emperours souldiers and their Arian associates. Hereat the Emperour is troubled, if his souldiers cannot prevail against a tumultuary party, how shall they stand against a formed army of enemies? but the Arian party is extremely vexed, and both Emperour and Arian fall upon *Macedonius*, and banish him from *Constantinople*; and so that See void once more of *Macedonius*, *Eudoxius* gets into his room after his wonted manner, no man knows how; for the Emperour disowned his election: Nevertheless once in, he seeks the peoples approbation, and to shew his deep reach into matters of divinity, strained his wit into a higher pitch of blasphemy then any formerly had attained; he tells the people what they never heard before: Namely, *That God the Father is impious, and that God the Son is pious*; and whiles men are wondring at the strangeness of the doctrine, he opens the riddle, and tells them, *That God the Father did not worship any one, but God the Son worshipped the Father*. Hereat, saith the Writer, the people laughed, which is no lesse strange; but *They that feed upon Heresie, will make no bones of Blasphemy*. Otherwise both Bishop and people

Soz. lib. 4.
cap. 25.

had more cause to weep. However the Emperour is so well satisfied in him, as he did not onely not depose him, but shewed so much respect either to him or others of his perswasion, as to condescend that they of *Arians* his highest forme should hold another Council at *Antioch*.

Sect. 4

But the Novatians having approved themselves thus good souldiers against the Macedonian party, bethink of strengthening themselves, by growing in amity with the Orthodox, as they were now baptised in enmity with the Semi-Arians: For though they still hold to their principles concerning the observation of *Easter*, and non-communication with such as had relapsed, and such as after Baptisme had committed mortal sin, as they termed it, in all which they were in the negative, yet in other points more fundamental, they were so grounded that they loved the Orthodox above all others, they would joyn in prayer with them, they would pray for them, and would even die for them, and were requited with the like observance from the Orthodox to them again; yet could not these come full home to one another in all the Publick Ordinances, to communicate together.

Soc. lib. 2.

cap. 30.

Soz. lib. 4.

cap. 19.

Sect. 5.

The Acaſians or Eudoxians also labour to fortifie their party, and therefore as unanimously as they can, they assemble at the Council now called at *Antioch*; yet the Semi-Arians come thither also; more in number, but inferiour to the other Arians in power, who being more potent at the Court, and the other discountenanced, did rule all at this Council, and put in and out as they pleased; *Eudoxians*

doxius is confirmed Bishop of *Constantinople*, and *Meletus* made Bishop of *Antioch*; although in him as well as others, they were mistaken. For *Meletus* was Bishop of *Sebastia*, one of excellent parts of learning, eloquence, and prudence, and of an excellent plausible carriage, which added a lustre to all the rest. On this man the Eudoxians look, as one that may winne many to them. For the people admired him; and accordingly at *Antioch* they flocked to hear him. But upon a day as he was preaching to the people, towards the conclusion of his Sermon, his zeal growing more then ordinarily, he brake forth into a clear asserting of the Nicene Doctrine, which being observed by one of his Arian Auditors, who was as furious, as *Meletus* was zealous, the Arian steps to *Meletus*, and with his hand stops *Meletus* his mouth. *Meletus* notwithstanding stretching forth his hand extended three fingers, and then closing them together, pointed out one finger alone; the people understanding his meaning, a tumult is raised; the Arian escapes away, and *Meletus* declared himself for the Nicene Faith more plainly; the Arians are ashamed, and *Meletus* is again deposed and banished: Hereupon ensues a Schisme at *Antioch* amongst the Arians; for many follow *Meletus*, and separate themselves; and holding their meetings in private houses, would neither communicate with the other Arians, nor with the Orthodox, nor they with them; and so they maintained a Schisme in the Arian Church at *Antioch*, upon meer personal respects, as it seemeth, like unto the Meletians Schisme in the Alexandrian Church. I say this at

Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 34.
Theod.
lib. 2. c. 31.
Soz. lib. 4.
cap. 27.

- Antioch* was a Schisme in the Arian Church, and not in the Catholick or Orthodox Church; for these Meletians at *Antioch* were never members of the Orthodox Churches; nor could they be, themselves being under a Bishop called by Arians, and baptised with Arian Baptisme, which by the Orthodox was accounted a nullity, and by *Athanasius* so declared to be; nor could they be, their love to *Meletius* was so ardent: For though *Paulinus* was propounded to them as one indifferent, and beyond all exception, and of so blamelesse a life as it did put to silence the very enmity of the Emperour, who after banished *Meletius* and spared *Paulinus*; yet would not the Meletians comply with *Paulinus*; and were encouraged therein by *Meletius*, who for the peace of the Churches sake might have shewn more self-denial then he did. And thus this Schisme continued at *Antioch* (do what any man can) for the space of eighty years, even until death removed the exception of Arian Bishop and Arian Baptisme out of the way.
- Self. 6.* This was one fruit of the Antiochian Council although sore against their wills; but they endeavour to rally again, by endeavouring to compose a Confession of Faith, not to reconcile the Semi-Arians, but to discriminate them, and that may fully reach *Arius* his heretical sense, if not over-reach the same: Yet the Council of *Constantinople* shall be their model, because its owned by the Emperour, but they will make it hold forth, *That the Son of God is unlike the Father, not only in substance, but in will. And that the Son hath his beginning from Nothing.* And if Writers say true, they
- Soc. lib. 3.
cap. 34.
Athanas. O-
rat. 3. cont.
Arian.
Soc. lib. 5.
cap. 9.
Ruffin.
H. fl. lib. 2.
cap. 30.
- Soc. lib. 5.
cap. 5.
- Theod.
lib. 3. c. 5
- Soc. lib. 4.
cap. 28.
Soc. lib. 2.
cap. 35.

they gained the Emperour to be a favourer of those opinions also, and so they bring it into the Council to passe the same, but still the major part would not agree thereto, and so the Council is dissolved; and though they cannot carry it out with multitude, yet they bear it out as the Faith Imperial, and as the Faith of Great men, such as the Great Masters *Endoxius*, *Ennomius*, *Acaſius*, and *Actius*, and to be observed by all that expect preferment.

For now the Semi-Arians are underneath, and (as those usually do who separate from principles of pride) falling into discontent go from bad to worse, deny the Deity of the Holy Ghost; gain the Donatists to joyn with them, and thus the Macedonian Heresie becomes considerable, and like to cope with the Arian, and grew so exceedingly in *Asia* and *Africa*, as *Serapion* the Egyptian Bishop bewails the same exceedingly in his Epistle to *Athanasius*; who thereupon enters the List in defence of the Deity of the Third Person also, as he had done in defence of the Second, and writes a Discourse to *Serapion* for the vindicating of that truth also; which is dated out of the Wildernesse, where it seems *Athanasius* still is, even now at the conclusion almost of *Constantius* his life.

Saſt. 7.

Athan. Epist. ad Serapion.

Thus a Christian Emperour and Christian Arians, Saſt. 8. bring ruin to a Christian Empire. The Bishops of the West are havocked in all places. Some flie for fear, others hide for fear, others subscribe for fear, others for want of understanding, some for both, and some are banished, the Easterne parts generally corrupted, so as in ten Provinces of *Asia*, Bin. 476.

scarce three Bishops remain, that acknowledge any Deity in Christ at all. The Western parts but Semi-Arians at the worst, in regard the Emperour had imposed on them the Syrmian Confession, which in honour he could not repeal, although the Eudoxian Confession possessed now his heart. But there were many Bishops who flatly held forth the Nicene Confession, amongst whom was *Hilary* Bishop of *Poitiers* in *France*, who being once banished by the Emperour, is again restored by unknown means, and is permitted to be quiet *sine exilii indulgentia*, as its said, without the favour of banishment; and he writing of these times, saith, that since the Council at *Nice*, *Annus & Menstruus de Deo fides decernimus, decretis penitemus, penitentes defendimus, defendentes Anathematizamus, aut in nostris aliena, aut in alienis nostra damnamus, & mordentes invicem jam absumpti sumus*: We have our Faith for a year, and some for a moneth; we decree and dedecree, we dedecree and redecree, we blesse and curse, we condemn the Faith of others, and yet believe it our selves, and so condemn our own Faith in other men; and thus biting one another, we are devoured by our selves. For its very likely that in those dayes, as in these, several opinions bred several practices, and those uncharitable censures amongst those that were weak: Neverthelesse the more advised Christians were more moderate, still reputing honest men honest men, though weak, and not able to discern the subtilty of the times. That they were induced through infirmity to submit and subscribe to this Confession, because they did not

(as

(as they said) see any thing therein that was evidently false or unsound: That the peace of the Church was at the last cast: That whatever glosse the Arians put upon the words, they neverthelesse did and do adhere to the Nicene Faith. And this made *Nazianzen* to bewail *Athanasius* his absence in the Wildernesse in such a storme of temptation.

But *Constantius* is now come to his last year, having been so unhappy as to own the name and fame of *Arius*, who was disowned by *Constantius* his father, who had found him troublesome to his government while he lived, and saw his end so dreadful when he died. Him neverthelesse after his sad death *Constantius* advanced to be reputed the Doctor of the World, and was contented to be his Disciple; for though he was educated in better principles, yet is taught first by *Eusebius* to disown the Word *Con-substantial*, then by *Macedonius* to believe, *That the Son of God is like to the Father*; and lastly by *Endoxius* to eat his own words, and to affirme *Him to be unlike the Father*. And denying the Eternity of the Son of God, to take the same unto himself under that Title of *Eternal* Emperor which they gave him. And thus instead of being exceeding great he is become odious to all good men, abhorred by his own souldiers, who in an expedition under *Julian* against the Barbarians, renounce *Constantius*, and lift up *Julian*. And then *Constantius* is loathed by himself; he seeing his honour buried before he dies, becomes a tormentor to himself by jealousies, fears, vexations, and thus brings on a fever, and that death; while

Self. 9.

Athan.
Epi. de;
Synod.

Nazian.
Eucor.
Athan.

whiles he is dying, his conscience revives, accusing and condemning himself for three things: For putting to death his Nephew *Gallus*, who was a good man; and for electing *Julian* to be his Successor, who was neither good man nor good Christian: And lastly, for maintaining new doctrines of Religion; and in this confession death takes him away, in the five and twentieth year of his Reign, about the year *Three hundred sixty and one* after the Incarnation.

C A P. XXI.

Julians Government, Athanasius his return to Alexandria. The Council there. Athanasius his third miraculous escape. Julians Death.

Sol. 1.

Amian.

Athan.
Epiſt. de
Synod.

Constantinus now thus sadly dying, *Julian* in the head of his Army, and designed by *Constantinus* to be his Successor, hath nothing further to do, then to take up the Imperial Crown and put it on. His victorious success in the Wars, his brave courage, his learning, wit, and other natural endowments, and his good education concurring with all the rest, do seem to point him out to all the Empire to give him their best entertainment. Its true he did delight to hear the disputes of the Heathen Philosophers; and they no lesse to dispute against the foolishnesse of the Gospel, as they accounted it, yet was he a Christian and

and baptised ; and though it was done by *Eutocius* an Arian, and filled with the spirit of *Arius* ; yet *Julian* held his Profession , and studied the Scriptures, and therein became so eminent for knowledge , as he becomes a Preacher , and so far to countenance holiness , as to undertake the profession of a Monk. And thus accomplished, Commander, Conquerour and Preacher , may well challenge the first place of esteem amongst all, and to be the most meet person in the World to manage a Christian Empire, to defend it against enemies from abroad , and the difference of the Church from within. For as yet *Julian* was unbiassed to either Arian or Orthodox, and there was cause , for in the issue it appeared that he was an enemy to them both ; and had no more religion then what served to make him the most exquisite Persecuter of Christianity of all that sat in the Throne. For he was not led by passion, but by sober hatred , not against Professors so much as Profession ; and therein was very cunning ; for his greatest strife was against the principles of truth in their practice. And the best that can be said of him , is, that he was the last persecuting Emperour, and continued but a while.

Amian.
lib. 21.

Theod.
lib. 3 c. 2.
Soz. lib. 5.
cap. 2.

And yet it seems he was not so ill , but the times were as ill ; for even the best of them, even those who should be as the salt of the earth , had lost their savour ; I mean their teachers , concerning whom *Nazianzen* hath this observation of those times ; whether speaking of the general stream of the whole , or onely of the Arian teachers , I determine not, but he saith they were such as *Nullos labores neque crummas virtutis Causa*

Soz. 2.

Nazion.
Encom.
Athanas.

pertraherunt,

pertulerunt, discipuli simul Magistrique pietatis designantur aliosq; ante purgant quam ipsi purgati fuerunt; heri sacrilegi, hodie Sacerdotes, heri extra sancta, hodie sanctorum arbitri ac antistites, &c.
 They never did not suffered much for good Cause; but even now learners, and in a moment teachers; teachers of others to be good, before themselves are good; but yesterday sacrilegious, to day sacred; yesterday prophane, to day who but they? old sinners, young saints, getting others goods by extortion, but godlinesse by oppression; more honoured for their Mastership then for their merit; and so he proceeded in his elegant manner to decypher the vanity of these teachers, amongst whom it seems *Julian* is the chief; being the first president that I finde of a preaching souldier becoming a heathen persecutor.

Seet. 3.

*Soc. lib. 5.
 cap. 5.
 Soc. lib. 3.
 cap. 1.*

In his entry upon the Empire, his principles led him neither to displease Infidels nor Christians; his affections led him to the one, his reason to the other, and so he grants an universal toleration, The Temples of all sorts are opened, as well Christian as Heathen, as well Orthodox as Arian; the banished both Orthodox and others are permitted to return and enjoy their places; and by command of publick Edict the estates of all such as are banished are restored; and especial command that the Orthodox shall not be urged to the Heathen Sacrifices; nor shall any dare to offer them violence, nor vex them with reproach. In this condition of affairs it besel that *George* the Arian, Alexandrian Bishop, having wasted his zeal or rather madnesse against the Orthodox, started another game in his chase,

chace, and after it he goes with more haste then good speed; for taking occasion to shew his despite against the Heathen Temples, he thereby vexed the Gentiles in that manner, that they taking advantage of this Interim of *Julians* coming to the Throne, rose in a tumult, seize upon Bishop *George*, and tie him to a Camels tail, and dragge him through the streets of *Alexandria*, and then they burn both Bishop and Camel in one fire. And this cut-rage being related to *Julian*, he is very calme at it; and the actors in this Tragedy instead of being well hanged, are well chidden for their pains; and thus at once God rendred to this Bishop a recompence for all his villanies done to the Orthodox, and thereby made way for *Athanasius* his return to *Alexandria* without controul.

Soc. lib. 5.
cap. 7.

Soc. lib. 3.
cap. 3.

Julian is all this while in his journey towards *Constantinople*, and by the way bethinks himself on what foot to stand before he ascends the same; and in *Illiria* as he comes, he renounces his Baptisme and Christian Communion; for it seems he knew his Army regarded none more then other; yet he being come to *Constantinople*, so managed the matter, that notwithstanding his profession, the first part of his reign was a riddle: For he spared none, yet seemed to favour all: He put *Eusebius* the Eunuch to a signal death, besides many other Arian Courtiers, who had been ring-leaders in the Arian dance of persecution; and thus have they also their reward as well as *George* of *Alexandria*. And yet *Julian* sends for *Actius* from banishment, who neverthelesse was as deep in the Arian

Sect. 4.

Baron. An.
361.

Arian way as any other, and this man returned to *Constantinople*, is outwardly favoured by him. And although it is known by all that *Julian* is none of the Orthodox Christians, yet by an especial Letter of high commendations he sends for *Basil* the Great from banishment, and invites him to come unto him. He likewise sends for *Zeno* the famous Physician from banishment, who though Orthodox, yet must be nigh him, as if he meant to trust him with his life. And which is yet much more strange; he endeavours to reconcile the differences between the Christian Bishops, as if his care should be to maintain Religion in Unity and Peace, which is as high a strain as any Christian Emperour reached at. And yet at the same time he sacrificed to Idols. The meaning of all which at length appears to be this, that hereby he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the people, by discountenancing such as were most favoured by *Constantinus*; and seemingly favouring such as *Constantinus* most hated.

Amian.
lib. 22.

S. r. lib. 5.
cap. 5.

Self. 5.

Hieron.
adv. Lucif.

In all the various turnings of *Julian* in his way, *Athanasius* seems to be quite out of mind; but he not intending to stay for particular invitation, having newes of the death of *Constantinus*, he secretly returns from the Wildernesse to *Alexandria*, yet concealed himself till he saw some issue; and after finding the way laid open by the Emperours general Edict, and the winde blowing fair, and the season calme, he suddenly discloseth himself, and entring his Church, is received with joy and well-come, no enemy appearing, no inclination to any umults. For now the Arians can claim no
more

more favour from *Julian* than the Orthodox: And the Gentiles and all are bound by the Emperours Edicts. Besides *Athanasius* is known to be a man of peace and good government; and under whom the City of *Alexandria* had received great blessings, by increase of Trade, and Wealth, confluence of people from all parts for Learning and Religion, and so by his coming a flourishing time is expected, and all is quiet.

Athanasius observing the coast so clear, forthwith calls a Council at *Alexandria*, whereunto not onely the banished Bishops of *Egypt*, but from all parts, both of *Asia* and *Affrica*, yea even from *Rome*, do assemble themselves, especially for *Athanasius* his sake, on whom, as the Sun breaking through a dark cloud, all mens eyes are fixed for directions of the Churches in this their sad condition. For the persecutions under *Constantius*, instead of driving the Orthodox together, drove them asunder, whiles some by complying yielded too far to the Arians; others stoutly withstanding the Arians, too severely not onely censured all that had been of that way, but all others who through weaknesse had obscured their Profession, and were not so forward in the opposing of the Arians as themselves; and not onely censured them, but separated from them, yea and from such as retained a charitable opinion of such their infirme brethren; this was an universal sore, and required a suitable plaister from a general Council, such as this at *Alexandria*; which through the mercy of God proved a healing Council. The Council therefore being met; first brought the broken bones

Soll. 6.

Soc. lib. 3.
cap. 43. 5.

bones of the Church together, and bound them up by a Decree, *That all such as had relapsed to the Arians, through infirmity, shall upon repentance be received to Communion and to their places.* By which Decree, said Hierome, *Satana faucibus ereptus est mundus: The World was rescued out of the Devils Jaws.* Such a Parliament God in his mercy give to these Nations, after all the sad distractions, under which they now do groan.

Nazian.
Encom.
Athan.

Secondly, in the Doctrine concerning the Holy Trinity there appearing a difference between the Greek and Latine Churches, in words onely expressing the same thing in substance, wherein they both did agree, *Athanasius* composed the matter so, as having gained them both to subscribe to the same thing in substance, and to be contented to lay aside the use of those words that maintained the difference, and to use no other words then those that are in the Scriptures, unlesse in case of disputes about errors that are or shall arise.

Soc. lib. 3.
cap. 36.

Then the Council determined against the error of *Eudoxius*, who denied the similitude between the Father and the Son; and also against the errors of the Macedonians; and against the errors of the Apollinarians, who observing the differences between the Arians and Semi-Arians, separated from them both, and took up an opinion, *That the Son of God assumed the body of Man without a soul, and after being convinced of that error, yielded that He had the Soul of a Man, but had not the mind of a Man, and that His God-head supplied instead*

instead thereof, and yet they did still maintain the *Consubstantiality* of the Persons of the God-Head.

They took also into consideration the multiplicity of Confessions of Faith scattered abroad; and concluded to lay all aside, but the Nicene Faith onely; and herein they did disown that Confession of the Faith, said to be made at the Council at *Sardica*, wherein both *Athanasius* and many others of this Council were present, and would not agree to any Confession distinct from the Nicene Faith. Sect. 7.

Lastly; *Athanasius* at this Council recited his Apology for his flight into the Wildernesse, and retiring himself from *Alexandria*, which his Arian enemies, by way of scandalous imputation, called a deserting of his place and trust.

Then they sent a Declaration of the conclusions of this Council to the Churches, and amongst the rest to *Basil* the Great, which came very opportunely to him, who was now beset with harsh censures of such as were more austere against his compliance with such as were perisitent for their relapse to the Arians through the dread of persecution. And *Basil* having received *Athanasius* his Letters, holds them forth as a Buckler against such detractors; telling them that herein he did follow the direction of the Fathers of the Church, signified to him by Letters from that blessed Father *Athanasius* of *Alexandria*, wherein he saith that all the Bishops of *Macedonia* and *Acaia* did agree unanimously herein: And that *Basil* could not but submit to the determination of so worthy a man as *Athanasius* was.

*Basil. 22
pist. 78. ad
Neocesar.*

N

The

Sect. 8.

Soc. lib. 5
cap. 14.

Theod.
lib. 4. c. 9.

Soc. lib. 3.
cap. 12.

The Alexandrian Council now ended, *Athanasius* betakes himself wholly to his Ministry, wherein he had such successe as multitudes are converted, and amongst others there were some of the Gentile Priests and their Families; *Julian* being informed hereof, dealt more moderately then did *Constantinus*: For as if he would be glad that *Athanasius* should make his escape, he lets him know his faults. That *Athanasius* had been banished, and had not onely returned to Alexandria, which he might do, but had possessed himself of his Church and Government of the Alexandrian Churches without the Emperours Warrant, which he ought not to have done; and so he left *Athanasius* to judge of the issue; but the Emperour concealed the main sore, which was the Conversion of the Gentiles and their Priests. And *Athanasius* understood his own condition well enough, and that the Emperour loved no Apologies of Christians, and that its no season now to demur or think to hide himself in Alexandria in any secret manner. He therefore prepares himself for his departure in an open manner, that Alexandria might not fare the worse for his supposed absconding there: at his departure the Conjurers and Witches rejoyce above the rest, for they say that so long as *Athanasius* is in Alexandria, their arts avail them not at all. But the Churches mourn, and flocking to him, bewail their own condition, beseeching him not to leave them, promising they would find out means to pacifie the Emperour, although they considered not that the Devil must be first pleased, or else the Emperour would not. But *Athanasius* beholding the

the people so perplexed, said to them, *Be of good courage my brethren, it is but a small cloud, the Storm will soon be over*; and so having commended the care of the Churches to his most trusty friends, he speedily gets into a Vessel upon the River, and away is gone up the same towards the Countrey of *Thebais* or the *Wildernesse*.

See lib. 5.
cap. 14.

He is no sooner gone, but the *Alexandrians* discover by the *Governours* enquiry after him, and his preparations to follow him, that nothing lesse then death is intended, and thereupon send speedily after *Athanasius*, to informe him thereof; and the *Governour* making what haste he can, gets into a boat with an *Executioner*, and follows after as fast as he can also; for he was afraid to adventure to put *Athanasius* to death in *Alexandria*, for fear of the people. The *Governour* thus gone, the people some pursue him with prayers for *Athanasius*, others with fears, many feed themselves with hopes they shall never be troubled with him any more, and many give him over as a dead man, and themselves to sorrow and lamentations. And *Athanasius* though never so speedy in his escape, is told that danger of death followes him hard behind. His company hereupon advises him to land and escape into the *Wildernesse*; but he perceiving them so perplexed, said unto them, *Why are you so fearful, my Sons, let us return and meet the Executioner*; *They shall know that he that defendeth us is greater then he that pursueth us*; and accordingly the Vessel turns head into the midst of the stream, and is soon within view of their pursuers. The *Governour* spying the Vessel wherein *Athanasius*

anas was (and nothing lesse suspecting then that it was the same Vessel which they pursued, or that *Athanasius* would thus voluntarily thrust himself into danger) called to the Vessel as it speedily glanced down the middle of the River, if they did see *Athanasius*, and they answered that they saw him but even now a little above upon the River; the Governour thereupon speeded the more earnestly after, but in vain, for *Athanasius* his Vessel is soon arrived where he hid himself, so as none of his enemies could ever finde him out during the Reign of *Julian*, do what either the wit or labour of man, or skill of Conjurers, or Devils malice can do.

Self. 9.

The Alexandrians informed of the escape of *Athanasius* from this eminent danger, labour by Mediatorship to mollifie *Julians* malicious heart towards him; but are answered, as by an Heathen Emperour, with rebukes and blasphemies; and which is yet worse, the Emperour missing his prey, which he accounted so surely his own, breaks all his former rules of persecuting by policy, and falls to right down blows, letting loose the Gentiles and his Governours upon the Christians, wherein neither Arian nor Orthodox is spared from imprisonment, banishment, tortures, and what not?

Soc. lib. 3.

cap. 12.

And complaints being made thereof to the Emperour, he answereth, *That their Religion teacheth them to suffer patiently.* But the Emperour finding that his Army is not satisfied in his way of rigour against the Christians, not onely purges the Government from all good Governours; but more especially his Army from all Commanders that like

not

not his proceedings. For an Army within doors, is like a sore in a diseased body, if well ordered, it consumes the humours, if otherwise it infects and wastes the spirits, and endangers the whole. And thus it befel in *Julians* time; as he was, so must be his Army, Christians will not doo with him, nor Christians abide with them. *Jovinian*, *Valentinian* and *Valens*, amongst other chief Commanders in the Army are Christians, who chuse rather to forsake their places of command in the Army, and their lively-hood therewith, then to lay down their Christian Warfare and Religion, by burning incense to the Heathen Gods, whereunto they were injoyued by the Emperour; and yet are they no loosers thereby in the conclusion; for God hereby not onely spared them from the Persian Sword, but reserved them for better service; whiles in the mean time his displeasure lay heavy upon the Army, as appeared afterwards.

Soc. lib. 3.
cap. 11.

Yet doth not *Julian* satisfie himself with the wickednesse wrought by him while he lives; but he will do what he can to perpetuate it to posterity, when he is dead; he will not endure that the Christians children should be trained up, no not in humane Learning. For well he saw that *Athanasius* and the Christians were so well studied in the principles of Philosophy, that they beat the Gentiles at their own weapons; and made Philosophy an Instrument to serve Divinity, as a weapon against Gentilisme; and that the Colledge at *Alexandria* abounded with Scholars from all Nations flocking thither, and was famous not onely for humane Learning, but especially for education of youth

Seet. 10.

Soc. lib. 3.
cap. 14.

Theod.
4. c. 8.

in the principles of Religion under that famous Doctor *Athanasius* (under whose influence *Gregory Nazianzen*, amongst others now was a student there.) And therefore the Emperour sends forth Edicts amongst other places to *Alexandria*, strictly inhibiting all manner of instruction of the children of Christians in any humane Literature. Its very true that humane Learning adds no strength to the Gospel, yet as to natural men of parts it addeth light, and renders them more capable of conviction of the weaknesse of the principles of nature, and prepare them for better grounds; which also slide more gently into their understanding, when they see the correspondency between the principles of Religion and Philosophy explained. And therefore it is a matter of wonderment to see men that would be eminent for Religion in these dayes to be enemies to a Learned Ministry.

Sect. II.
Theod. lib.
4. cap. 4.

I might add more concerning *Julian* cunning against Religion and Teachers, in taking away their Maintenance, thereby destroying not Presbyters, but the Presbytery; but I am not to mind a History of *Julian*, but *Athanasius* his cloud, which is now indeed passing over apace. For the Persians after the death of *Constantius*, had renewed their claim to the Roman Confines, and are now drawn down to the borders; and *Julian* is in all haste called to an expedition against them, and therefore must leave to pursue the Christians till another time; for he made a solemn protestation that after his expedition finished, he would utterly root out Christianity; and then he goes to consult his

Nazian.
2. Orat. in
Julian.

Gods

Gods about the successe of his Voyage; and receives an answer from his Oracle, which according to its construction was either a plain lie, or the sense so doubtful, as might be taken one or other way. And however the Emperour is answered according to his desire, *That he should have the better against the enemy.* And thus armed sufficiently as he thinketh, enters the battail, and beats the enemy to a confused retreat; so far his Gods said somewhat towards the truth; but this is not all: For *Julian* that he might pursue the chase more speedily, throws off his armour, and being forgetful of the Rule, *To overcome is glorious, but to exceed therein is odious*; he will have all or nothing, and in the heat of his pursuit did meet, or rather was met by an arrow or dart that pierced through his arme and entred his side, and endeavouring with his other hand to draw it out, receives another wound, and therewith fell from his horse, and receiving his blood gushing from his wound into his hand, threw it up into the aire, confessing the judgement of the Lord Jesus Christ, and his Victory upon himself, though even then under that blasphemous Name of *Galilean*; and so he died as he lived, an enslaved Rebel and Enemy to God. And (if *Nazianzen* be rightly informed) his body was carried away in a tempest, without Lamentation and without Burial. Notwithstanding some Historians make the same, or somewhat in the stead thereof, to have an honourable Burial.

Amian.

Soc. lib. 3.

cap. 18.

Ibid.

cap. 25.

Nazian.

Euseb.

Athan.

CAP. XXII.

*Jovinians Reign and Death. Athanasius
his third Return to Alexandria, and an-
other Council holden there,*

Self. 1.

THe rage of *Constantius* towards his latter end against the Orthodox, succeeded by the hatred of *Julian* against Christianity, made Religion to take flight into the Wildernesse, and now the Monkish Life is still advanced from a Profession to be in fashion. But *Julian* now out of the way, the times do change, and Religion peeps forth of the Wildernesse into the World again, having a fair gleame from the Army. For that now upon the death of their Emperour, beaten to a retreat, and intrenched; they must have another Emperour, or all is lost; no Successor was designed by *Julian*, either being confident of his return, or knowing none so wicked as himself to succeed him. The Souldiers in this exigency pitch their Election upon *Jovinian*, who though none of the Family of the *Cæsars*, yet was of a Noble Family, a valiant man, and successful in the Wars, and had formerly been one of the Tribunes, but disclaimed the place for the sake of his conscience; and yet was made one of the Captains, although he desired to lay down arms. This man (the Souldiers lifting up in triumph as the Custome was) refused the honour, telling them he was a Christian, and could not rule over Gen-
tiles.

Soc. lib. 3

cap. 11.

cap. 19.

Theod.

lib. 4. c. 1.

Soz. lib 6.

cap. 3.

tiles. But the Souldiers would admit of no denial, and told him that he must undertake the service, and that themselves would be Christians also. For *Souldiers ordinarily shift their Religion according to the fancy of their chief Commander.* Jovinian seeing the danger that they were all of them in, resolves to do what he can to save the Army, now engaged far into the enemies Cuntry, and must fight for their bread, and yet could get none by fighting; and therefore he submitting to his Election, makes peace with the Persians upon the best conditions that he can, though not such as he would, and thereby gained liberty for a quiet return homeward, although with the losse of some Territories by surrender.

Ruffin.
Hist. lib. 2
cap. 1.

Soll. 2

Naxian.
Encom.
Athan.

The first thing observable that appeareth done by Jovinian in his return home-ward, was his restoring the banished Orthodox Christians to their several Counties, Estates, and Places. And now is Athanasius his cloud quite gone, and the skie now clear, invites Athanasius to forsake his harbour, and make his Voyage for Alexandria, which he doth with all speed he can, and is entertained not as in the times of Constantius and Julian, wherein it was imputed as a crime to rejoyce in the advancement of good men, but like unto the times of Jovinian; wherein it was an honour to honour such as are worthy of all honour: For he is met by a multitude prepared by expectation, men of all sorts, great and small, from Alexandria and all the Coasts of Egypt, in so great a number, as a good Observer said, *If Constantius had been present, he could not believe so great a number would have*

have appeared, no nor at the presence of great Athanasius, had not his eyes seen it, and yet he saw not the bounds of the multitude. But when Athanasius came into view, then began the acclamations and universal shoutings, and continued all the way, some feeding themselves with the very sight of him, others with the hearing of his voice, others that his shadow reached them, others with his discourse; and so he comes with joy, is received with joy, and all return home with joy, which fully recompensed all their grief at his departure; and then all is in peace, no opposition from the Arians, no competitor for his place. For Julian the Emperour cared not to supply vacancies in any Church, but sought rather to destroy all.

* Sect. 3.

Jovinian in his return now come to Antioch, receives addresses from several parts, and amongst the rest Athanasius presents himself before him, and is courteously received: The Arians of Alexandria likewise repair to him with Lucius their Presbyter, whom they had designed to be Bishop of Alexandria, and by friends, whereof they had store at Antioch, gained access to the Emperour as he was horsing for the Field; and they told Jovinian that they were Christians of Alexandria, and came to desire his favour, that they might have a Bishop set over them. The Emperour answered that Athanasius their Bishop was yet alive. They replied that he was deposed and banished. The Emperour turning his horse rode on, and they followed him, and upon occasion of the Emperours stop, they tell the Emperour that Athanasius had been

been banished by *Constantine* the Great, and after by *Constantius*, and after that by *Julian*. *Jovinian* answered he knew all this, and he well knew how, and why, but all those things are past: The Arians moved that they had other matters of late to object against him. The Emperour told the Arians that they were many persons, he could not hear them all; chuse you therefore said he one or two in the name of all the rest, and let them attend upon me, and I will hear them. The Arians thereto replied that they were contented that any one should be their Bishop, but *Athanasius*. The Emperour answered, And why shall *Athanasius* be excepted? I have heard that he is an honest able learned man, and one that teacheth the truth faithfully. He will do it (said the Arians) with his mouth, but deceit is in his heart: The Emperour said what have you to doe with his heart? Let God alone, meddle with that, do you hear what he saith: Then one of them told the Emperour that one of *Athanasius* his disciples, under colour of *Athanasius* his name, had bereaved him of his house. The Emperour answered, what is that to *Athanasius*? the Law is open. A Greek then present, told the Emperour that himself had cause to complain against *Athanasius*. The Emperour answered, You are a Greek, what have you to do with *Athanasius*? Then the Arians brought *Lucius* to the Emperour, and prayed him that *Lucius* might be their Bishop. The Emperour understanding their designe, called for *Athanasius*, and commanded him to return to *Alexandria*, and teach and govern the Egyptian Churches

Churches as he should find most meet, and so the Emperor departed, and *Athanasius* also to *Alexandria*.

Señ. 4.

Theod. lib.
4. cap. 3.

Athanasius had not been long at *Alexandria*, before a Letter came to him from the Emperor *Jovinian*, requiring an account from him concerning the Nicene Faith in relation to the opinion of *Arius*; for answer whereunto *Athanasius* calls another Council at *Alexandria*, of the Bishops of *Egypt*, and *Lybia*, and *Thebais* wherein the Emperors Letters are read; and they concluded to attend upon the Emperor by special Messengers, with their Answer to the Emperor Letters: Wherein they possess the Emperor with the true state of the Arian Doctrine, and of the state of the Orthodox Churches, even as contrarily the Arians had possessed *Constantine* with their opinions before the Orthodox could make their case known to him. And in their Letters they give *Jovinian* humble thanks for their pre-admittance, and his desire to be informed from them of the principles of Religion; as touching which, they tell him, that the true Faith is set down in the Holy Scriptures, which is the Word of God; and that the Faith confessed by the Nicene Council is contained in the Scriptures: Which was unquestioned, till of later times, *Arius* and his Disciples had brought into the Church dangerous Errors; teaching, *That the Son of God had his being of nothing, and was made, and was mutable*; and that hereby many were seduced from the Orthodox Faith; and that for the preventing of further mischief, the Nicene Fathers proceeded to condemn such opinions, and to condemn and excommunicate the

the Patrons and Assertors of such doctrines: And that for the settling of the Churches in the Truth, they had also composed a Form of Confession of Faith to be received and holden by all the Churches; whereunto men of corrupt judgements refusing to submit, some of them plainly oppose it by denial: Others seem to agree in words, but in truth by false glosses, abuse the sense, to the overthrowing of the true Doctrine, concerning the Son of God, and also concerning the Holy Ghost: And therefore the Council at *Alexandria*, judge it most meet to commend to the Imperial consideration (to be received and beleaved) the Nicene Faith, which they publish, as followeth:

We beleeve in one God the Father almighty, maker of all things, visible and invisible; and in one God Christ begotten of God, the only begotten of the Father, that is, of the Fathers substance; God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God, begotten not made, co-essential with the Father, by whom all things celestial and terrestrial are made, who descended for us men, and for our salvation took flesh, and humanity to himself, suffered, and rose again the third day; ascended into Heaven, and shall come to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Ghost.

Those therefore who affirm, that once it was when the Son of God was not, and that before he was begotten he was not.

And that he was made of nothing, or of other substance or essence.

And was made mutable or variable,

Are excommunicate.

‘ For the Nicene Council doth not say, *That the Son is like to the Father, nor simply the like of God, but that he is true God of true God, and that he is co-essential, because he is the natural and true Son of the natural and true Father; neither did the Council separate the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son; but together with both, did glorifie in one Faith of the Holy Trinity, because it is one Deity in Holy Trinity.*

This is the substance of the Letter which the Council at *Alexandria* sent to the Emperor *Jovian*, and wherewith the Emperor settled his resolution to establish the same by his Authority, and to lay aside other Confessions presented to him.

Self. 5.

The *Macedonians* and *Semi-Arians* likewise call a Council, and they move the Emperor to banish the *Acaſians*; and others of the highest strain of *Arians*, and under colour thereof would pretend themselves *Orthodox*: But the Emperor knew them, and gives them a short Answer, *He hates such as maintain contention, He loves and honours such as are for peace and union.* The *Acaſians* perceive the Emperors inclination, and fearing to be ground to nothing, between these two *Millstones*, the *Semi-Arians* and the *Orthodox*: They therefore held a Council at *Antioch* under *Meletius*, who now is returned and settled Bishop there: And in this Council they dis-own their former Opinions, and hold forth themselves to be in conjunction with the *Nicene Faith*, and that the Son is consubstantial with the Father, and begotten of the Substance of the Father, and nevertheless is the same breath, glance at a similitude, of the Son to the Father

ther as touching his substance; and which is yet more they will condemn *Arius* for saying, *That Christ is come from nothing*; and the *Eunomians* for affirming, *That the Son is unlike the Father*; and these being thus represented to the Emperor; (though herein they worshipped not God, but the purple Robe) they likewise are restored to their Churches again: *Opinions taken up upon pretence of Conscience, and not substantially grounded on the Word of God, and all Schisms upon such foundations, are blown away by the breath of a resolved Governor*: And therefore though *Jovian* never lived to come to see his Imperial City, nor was scarce possessed of the Throne, yet in his way thereto he conquered more to the Church of God than *Constantine*, *Constantinus* and *Julian*, could all of them while they lived, gain to the Empire, although they ruled threescore yeers between them.

The Emperor thus having determined concerning the ordering of the Churches, whiles he is yet but in the way to *Constantinople*, proceeds to reform or rather re-reform his army; for it having been *Julians* armie, it may well be supposed that it needed it, and yet not very much neither, for when *Jovian* comes to the tryal of them, they tell him that their old souldiers were *Constantines*, their younger were very few that in heart were of *Julians* way. And that as souldiers they are to be servants to the Wars, let the Religion of the Magistrate be what it will. Neverthelesse *Jovian* recalls all such Souldiers and Commanders who formerly laid down their arms and lively-hood rather then they would part with a good conscience. But

Sol. 6.

Ruffin.
lib. 2. c. 1.
Theod.
lib. 4. c. 1.
Soz. lib. 6.
cap. 3.

as touching the people, he will trouble no man for faith, but will respect all such as are desirous to maintain the publick peace. More then this I find not of *Jovinian's* actions conducing to the matter in hand, his time being but short; and his work rather a progresse to his Imperial City, then a Government; he died before he could arrive at *Constantinople*, about eight moneths after his Election, concerning whom I shall onely add this note which I find in a Writer: *That God sometimes for the punishment of sin shews forth a likely-hood of much good to a people, and after snatches the same away before they can say they have it.* *Jovinian* died lamented; and commended by such as were good; and as much discommended by such as were bad; and hence arises the different sence of Writers concerning him.

CAP. XXIII.

The Government of Valentinian and Valens. Both of them declare for the Nicene Faith. Divers Councils in order thereto.

Self. I.

THE Roman Army though now out of danger of a Foreign Enemy; and being almost at *Constantinople*, yet are so regardful of their own honour and safety, as they speedily elect another Emperour to succeed; and will not come into the City headlesse. And by
an

an extraordinary providence they pitch again upon one of the Christian Orthodox Faith, who neither was present, nor minded such thing; albeit its likely *Jovinian* had sent to him amongst others, when he reformed the Army. I say it was a strange providence, for what other could move such a body, as a headlesse Army, trained up under such an one as *Constantius* for five and twenty years together, to make choice of such a Head.

Soz. lib. 1.
cap. 6.
Zonar.
tom. 3. fol.
88.

This man thus elected, was *Valentinian*, originally a souldier of *Pannonia*, trained up under *Constantine* the Great in the Army; and carrying himself bravely, had attained the honour of command of a Brigade in the Army, and was also become one of the Tribunes, when it was lately formed for the Persian Expedition. And *Julian* then entering upon his Voyage, and going into the Heathen Temple to consult his gods, as formerly was mentioned, *Valentinian* according to the duty of his place attending upon the Emperour, passed into the Temple before the Emperour; and at the door was saluted by the Priest with an Olive water sprinkle, as others had been, according to the manner, and some of the Water falling upon *Valentinian*, he shook it off with indignation, and gave the Priest a box on the ear for his labour; which the Emperour observing, said nothing, but took the next opportunity to charge him with unfaithfulness and breach of trust, and banished him the Army, and sent him prisoner into a Castle, not mentioning at all his carriage at the Temple door; for it was *Julian's* rule not to punish for matter of conscience, least they should have the honour of

Soc. lib. 4.
cap. 1.

Theod.
lib. 4. c. 16.
Soz. lib. 6.
c. 1. 6.

Theod.
lib. 4. c. 15.

suffering as Martyrs, which thing *Julian* liked not. This *Valentinian* thus quite out of sight, is not quite out of mind, but now is called out of Prison to reign (for he is never out of the way to preferment, that is in Gods way) and being come, is invested with the Imperial Robe and Ornaments. Which done, the souldiers desire yet further to elect an associate to him, for his assistance in the government of the Empire. But *Valentinian* told them, *That they had thought Him meet to be their Emperour, and it belonged onely to Himself to consider of a Consort, and not to them; and therefore required them to lay aside their thoughts concerning it, Himself would do what becomes an Emperour in such case.* And herewith the souldiers are contented. Thus God rendred to *Valentinian* an hundred-fold for his Constancy to Religion, He lost his Tribunes place, and gained an Empire.

Ruffin.
Hist. lib. 1.
cap. 2.

Seft. 2.

Valentinian now settled in the Empire, declared his intent to march towards *Constantinople*, the next day, and calling together the chief Commanders of his Army, as if he intended to do all things by their advice; he asked them whom he should elect to be his Consort in the Empire; and all keeping silence for a time, at length *Dagalaiphus* Lieutenant General of the Horse, answered, *If you love your own relations, O Emperour, you have a brother; but if you love the Common-wealth, seek whom you can find:* The spirit of *Valentinian* startled hereat, yet concealing himself, he horsed for *Nicomedia*, where he made his brother *Valens* Master of his Horse, and one of the Tribunes of the Army, and then full of thoughts concerning the
answer

Amian.
lib. 28.

answer of *Dagalaophus*, he advanced towards *Constantinople*, and is joyfully received; and at the length he elects his brother *Valens* his Consort in the Empire, assigning to him the care of the Eastern parts, and reserving the Western to himself. Now though *Valentinian* might seem to be swayed herein by the natural affection of a brother, yet for ought the World then knew he was a very meet man for the service; for he was a bred soldier and valiant, and withal religious, and had been a Confessor even to banishment, as well as his brother the Emperour; and it may be suffered for his brothers sake the more displeasure. And accordingly *Valens* continued to hold forth a good profession, when he entred upon the affairs of the Empire, and advanced such to be nigh to him as had been sufferers for the truth, and amongst others sent for *Casarius Naxianzen's* brother, from banishment, took him to be nigh himself, and was much led by his counsel; and the Churches both East and West enjoyed much peace, and Religion prospered, and many Gentiles were daily added to the Faith. But when as *Valentinian* was in preparation to depart to the Western parts, and to leave *Constantinople*, the Macedonians and Semi-Arians begin to bestir themselves; and they repair to *Valentinian*, and request liberty to hold a Council for the settling of union and agreement in the principles of Religion; but as the matter proved, it was intended for the overthrow of the Eudoxian Faith, which they endeavoured to settle at the Councils at *Constantinople* and *Antioch*; and that the Semi-Arian principles might be the more

Soc. lib. 4.
cap. 4.
Soc. lib. 6.
cap. 7.

blished. But the Emperour *Valentinian* not liking their persons, and suspecting their intensions, declined their request, because he would not seem to countenance either way. And therefore he told them that he was a lay person, and had no insight into their opinions, and therefore he leaves them to such wayes as conduce most for peace. This answer the Semi-Arians take to be in nature of connivance, and cared for no more, seeing they cannot gain a plain concession. They therefore appointed a Council to be holden at *Lampsack*, where after two months sitting, they conclude against the Eudoxians, *That the Son of God is like to the Father in Substance*; and condemning the Eudoxian Confession, they establish their own made at *Antioch*, and confirmed at *Seleucia*, and hereof they give notice by Letters to all their Churches.

Self. 3.

The Eudoxians laboured to put a stop to these their proceedings, but could not; they laboured to gain *Valens* the Emperour to appear against the Council at *Lampsack*, but he said that he had much imployment both against foraign enemies, and also against domestick insurrections, and could not attend such matters as they moved him unto. Contrarily, the Macedonians perceiving that the Eudoxians made application to the Emperour *Valens*, and fearing that the interest of *Eudoxians* with *Valens* might prevail with him in the conclusion: They know no other way for the present then to apply themselves to *Valentinian*; but being conscientious to themselves, that they should find little favour from him, so long as they appeared enemies to the

Orthodox

Soc. lib. 4.

cap. 11.

Soz. lib. 6.

c. 10, 11,

12.

Orthodox, they suddenly strike sail, and pretend the Nicene Faith, and desire to be admitted into Communion with the Orthodox Churches. And to that end they send three Bishops their Delegates (amongst whom *Eustathius* was one) to *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, charging them to submit in their name to *Liberius* his judgment, and not to differ in any thing from it, as touching the Arian points; and protestedly to hold forth their submission to the Nicene Faith. And with these Messengers they likewise send Letters signed by them to the same purpose. These Messengers being come to *Rome*, offer themselves and their Letters to *Liberius*; but he with-drawing himself from them, refused conference with them, or to accept the Letters, alledging that they from whom they came were excommunicated, and therefore he could not correspond with them. But *Eustathius* and the other Messengers replied, that themselves, and they from whom they were Delegated, were become penitent, and acknowledged such a likeness between the Father and the Son, as was in all things, and nothing different from *Consubstantiality*. Then *Liberius* desired them to set down their judgments in writing, which they did, so fully declaring both affirmatively according to the Doctrine of the Nicene Faith, and also negatively condemning the Doctrine of *Arius* and his Disciples, and of the *Patropassians*, *Marcionists*, *Photinians*, *Marcellians*, and *Samosatenians*, that nothing could be further desired, and thereto they subscribed their Names.

Soc. lib. 4.
cap. 11.

Liberius therefore and the Western Bishops having no further to object against these men, cannot refuse to accept them into Communion, and thereof they grant their Letters Testimonial to all the Churches; with which these Asian Messengers depart into *Sicilia*, where an other Council was holden; and upon shewing the Letters from *Liberius* and other Bishops at *Rome*, being testimonial as to the Messengers, and a copy of the answer of the Bishops at *Rome* to the Letters from the Asian Bishops, and of the Confession of Faith signed by the Delegates; they obtained the like acceptance at *Sicilia*; and receive like Letters to the Asian Churches from them of *Sicilia*. These Messengers thus accepted, they return; and then these Penitentiaries send their Letters of request to all the Orthodox Churches, to hold a Council at *Tarsus* for the establishing the Churches in the Nicene Faith. And being informed of a Council to be holden at *Illiricum*, by the joynt order both of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, they send their Delegates thither.

Seel. 4.

Theod.

lib. 4. c. 7.

8, 9.

For the Emperour *Valentinian* being informed of the differences in *Asia* concerning Religion newly reviving, joyns with *Valens*, and he with him in the calling of a Council to be holden at *Illiricum*, where after long debate, they conclude according to the Nicene Faith, *That the Holy Trinity is Consubstantial*, and the same is declared to all the Asian Churches; which Letters they send by Messengers of their own, purposely directed, that they might bring certain news whether the Asian Churches did indeed agree to them in Doctrine, as by *Eusebians* they had been represented.

sented. For as yet they did not give much credit to *Eusebius*, in regard he had shewn himself a fickle man, having been often in trouble for his Profession, and as often changed it. But the Messengers upon their return confirmed what *Eusebius* had reported concerning the Asian Churches. And thus the Acts and Conclusions of this Council are confirmed by both *Valentinian* and *Valens*, by their Publick Edict, and in all places to be publickly taught and owned, with further command, that all such persons as are otherwayes minded, should cease to trouble such teachers who do teach according to the said conclusions, which they also do transmit, in this manner set forth.

We confesse (following the Great Orthodox Council,) That the Son is Co-essential to the Father; not understanding the Word Co-essential, as some of late have done, who have subscribed deceitfully; and others that follow those who have holden forthonely a similitude by the word Consubstantial: For such do wickedly make the Son of God a Creature. But we are of the same opinion with the Roman and French Churches, That the Essence of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost is one and the same in Three Persons, that is, in three perfect Substances.

We confesse also according to the Nicene Faith, that, That Co-essential Son of God took flesh of the Virgin Mary, and dwelt amongst men; and that He fulfilled for us the whole Work of His Offices, in his Birth, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension into Heaven, and shall again return apparantly in the

Flesh, and render to every man according to his Work in the Day of Judgment, shewing his Divine Power; God who assumed Flesh, and not Man who assumed God.

All such who hold contrary hereto, Let him be Anathema. And all such as shall say, That the Son was not before He was begotten, but was in the Father in potentia, before He was actually begotten. For the Son with the Father is begotten with an Eternal Generation.

Scet. 5.

*Baron. An.
365. num.
17.*

The Council at last did also admit *Eustathius* and the Asian Delegates into Communion, and gave them Letters Testimonial to the Asian Churches, and other Letters exhorting them to continue constant in the truth, with which they departed, and went to another Council called at *Tiana*, where with other Bishops *Gregory Nazianzen* was, unto whom these Delegates producing all the Letters Testimonial and Writings missive, they are received with great joy, although *Basil* the great was not yet satisfied to give much confidence to *Eustathius* his Profession, nor to the Confession of those Penitentiaries. The Council at *Tiana* nevertheless signify the compliance of these Delegates (and their Churches) to all the Churches, and do order that the several Testimonials shall be read in the several Churches, desiring them also that they would admit those Churches, thus making application, into Communion, and declare the same by their Letters Certificatory. And lastly, That they would meet at the Council intended

*Soz. lib. 6.
cap. 12.*

to

to be holden at *Tarsus*, to establish a perfect Union.

C A P. XXIV.

Valens falleth to Arianisme. His Persecution of the Orthodox. The last Troubles of Athanasius, and his fourth Escape.

W HAT some Writers mention concerning *Self. I.*
Valens his dissatisfaction with those at the Council at *Lampsack*, as if he were then an engaged Arian with *Eudoxius*, seems inconsistent with what is generally agreed, that at the Council at *Iliricum* he did joyn with *Valentinian* against the Arians. If therefore any displeasure was in *Valens* against the Council, it might be rather for their holding a Council there without his consent. Nevertheless whatever his former Profession was, the time at length comes when as he appeareth to all, not onely an Arian, but an Eudoxian Arian, although it is probable that he gained to that pitch by degrees. The first cause of his defection is said to be his Wife, *Theod. lib. 4. cap. 12.* for though Emperours commanded in the field, we find that in their Empires they were much advised by their Wives, who were the Daughters of *Eve*, and many times shewed more will than wisdom. This the Arians knew well enough, and first gained the Emperesse to be theirs, and then had a more ready

Soz. lib. 6.
cap. 6.

ready way for the Emperours favour, which was evidently theirs, when as News being brought of the Goths falling in upon *Thracia*. For then the Emperour betakes himself not onely to armes for his bodily safety, but he will be spiritually armed also with a Baptisme or a Re-Baptisme; some say his Wife also perswaded him to that, having so fitting an instrument for that work as *Eudoxius* was. For his conscience was so large, that he did it and did it to the purpose, even into a perpetual hatred of the Orthodox Christians; and it was accordingly effectual, to that end till he died. Thus *Valens* that once laid down his *All* to save his Religion, now lays down his Religion to save nothing; for this piece of armour of Baptisme was not of proof against the *Goths*, as after will appear. *Gregory Nazianzen* hearing hereof, said, *Surrexit nubecula, grandine plena, perniciet calamitosa Christi cultor pariter & osor, qui post persecutionem persecutor fuit, & post Apostatam, non quidem Apostata, sed nil melius Christianus Christi nomen pre se ferens - Christum mentibatur.* A Cloud arises with raging hail, a dreadful plague, a worshipper of Christ, and yet a hater of Christ, once persecuted, now a persecutor. A Successor of an Apostate and no Apostate, yet no better, professing Christ, and yet denying Christ.

Seft. 2.

And henceforth *Eudoxius* is looked upon as *Valens* his Ghostly Father, he gives the rule, and *Valens* is the Executioner; and first he gives a stop to the Council at *Tarsus*, partly by Letters hortatory, partly minatory; and next that he falls to persecution, and wanting work amongst the Orthodox

dox (for in *Thracia*, *Bythinia* and *Helespont*, multitudes of Towns for the East, greatest part of his Reign, had neither Ministers nor Churches, and those which had any Ministers, they are all fled to places of more quiet habitation) they fall next upon the Macedonians and Semi-Arians, and having enforced them and the Novatians, and all the Orthodox to forsake *Constantinople*, they are now Lords alone, and yet are not quiet, but falling out with one another. *Endoxius* will have *Eunomius*, (who is as wicked an Arian as himself, and by diseases had contracted as foul an out-side as he was within) to admit *Attius* (who had been *Endoxius* his Tutor) into Communion with his Congregation. But *Eunomius* refused, in regard that *Endoxius* his Congregation accounted *Attius* not to be sound in their way, although *Endoxius* otherwise conceited of him; hereupon *Endoxius* takes offence, and separates from *Eunomius*. But *Endoxius* is called off, for *Valens* is now making his Progress to *Antioch*, which proved a Progress of, or for persecution, and that work cannot go well, unless *Endoxius* eye be thereon. The Emperour now in his way, the poor Christians from remote parts having sent their Ministers to the number of fourscore, to petition the Emperour for favour, at *Nicomedia* they obtain Audience, but had none but dilatory answers, till by the Governour they were all apprehended and put into a Ship, wherein they entred, expecting banishment; but it proved far otherwise, for the Governour being commanded to put them to death, durst not do it on land for fear of the people; and therefore

Soc. lib. 4.
cap. 9.

Soc. lib. 4.
cap. 12.

Soc. lib. 4.
cap. 13.

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Sect. I.

Theod. lib.

4. cap. 12.

Soz. lib. 6.
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Soc. lib. 4.
cap. 9.

Soc. lib. 4.
cap. 12.

Soc. lib. 4.
cap. 13.

fore after the Ship was launched into the open Sea, the Sailors set fire on the Ship, and themselves escaped by Boat, and the Ship carried by the Wind and Current along the *Hellepont*, from the Gulf *Asiacus* until it came on ground at *Dacibiza*, and so consumed with all that was therein.

Sell. 3.

The Emperours Progresse continued, breathing out slaughter as he went, but coming to *Cappadocia*, he is told of *Basil* the Great, who was then Bishop there, and that he was a stout Defender of the Orthodox. The Emperour therefore would not enter into the Lists with him himself, lest he should receive the foil; but appoints the Governour, who assaied *Basil* first by promises of the Emperours favour, assuring him that the Emperour had him in high esteem already, and was loth to admit of hard thoughts concerning him. But *Basil* answered that such arguments might prevail with young men; for his own part he was resolved so far as he was able not to suffer one syllable of Divine Truth to be endangered, and yet he accounted highly of the Emperours favour; the Governour then threatned him with death. But *Basil* told him his body was weak, and would easily suffer that, and that he was willing to make trial what he could suffer, if the Governour would be willing to put him thereto. The Governour told him he was mad, and gave him time to consider of it till the next day. *Basil* replied, if I be mad, I would I might be ever thus mad, to morrow and to day is all one. The next day the Governour finding him obstinate, threatned him with

Theod.

lib. 4. c. 29.

Soz. lib. 6.

cap. 16.

with Banishment. *Basil* answered it moves me nothing ; I have nothing to loose besides an old rent coat and a few books ; I live in this World as a traveller, alwayes expecting to be gone. The Governour tells the Emperour that he can gain nothing, *Basil* will not yield an inch. The Emperour hereupon will not stay in *Cappadocia*, but goes to *Casaria*, where by the way his beloved Son falls sick, and thereupon the Emperours conscience is not well ; and therefore *Basil* is sent for, who being come, is told that the Emperours Son is faine sick, and that it would be very acceptable, if he would go and visit him, and pray for him ; but it must be done so as that the Emperour must not be seen to be the first mover herein. *A man may be perswaded that Holinesse onely will help at a dead list, and neverthelesse remain an enemy thereto, and yet a professing Christian all the while.* *Basil* therefore desiring first to cure the disease of the Emperours own heart, goes to him, and beseeches him to restore peace to the Churches, and to take order that his Son may be baptised by some holy man, and he will do well, but *Valens* liked not the bargain : *Basil* went away, and the Emperour will have his Son baptised by Arians, and so his Son died ; hereat the Emperour is perplexed, and as some say fell sick, and *Basil* again is sent for, and being come, the Emperour relented as to him, but as to the cause he is the same man still that he was.

The Emperours Progressse holds on to *Antioch*, *Secl. 4.* where the rage against the Orthodox is so great, that the Christians forsake their dwellings in the
Towns,

Soc. lib. 4.
cap. 14.

Towns, and get into the woods and places remote, and there hold their meetings; which being told the Emperour, he commands the Governour to suppress their meeting; and publishes his Edicts upon pain of death forbidding such assemblies. But the Christians still meet notwithstanding, which being told the Governour, he marches with his horsemen into the fields to scatter them; and by the way overtaking a woman carrying her little son with her in great haste, asked her whither she was going so hastily? *To the field, Sir, said she, where the people of God are met.* The Governour said to her, Do not you know that the Governour will be there to put to death all such as he shall find there assembled; contrary to the Emperours Commandments. *Yes, Sir, said the woman, and I make what haste I can, lest I should come too late, and fail of my serving God by Martyrdom.* The Governour then asked her, Wherefore do you then carry your little child? *Sir, said she, even that it also may meet with the same measure that I meet with, and receive the like reward.* The Governour hereat astonished, returned and acquainted the Emperour what he had done and found; and was assured that the people were there all of them ready and resolved to die; and told the Emperour that if his commands should be executed, it would prove such a butchery as would dishonour him before all the world. And hereupon he desists from further cruelty, having already exceeded so far, as the River *Oromes*, on which *Antioch* was seated, blushed at the bloody massacre of dead bodies slain and cast therein.]

I say he desisted ; for he was necessitated thereunto by sudden News come that the *Goths* had invaded the Empire , and are come as far as *Adrianople*. And so the Emperour must now return to look to his own Freehold. His mind is nevertheless as good or ill as ever it was , and what he cannot see done ; he must betrust to his Governours in their respective Countries , and these commands are extended as far as to *Alexandria* ; where *Athanasius* is all this while feeding of his flock , where also was the main Butt at which all *Endoxius* his Councils aimed. And by vertue hereof all meetings are forbidden at *Alexandria* under like penalties. And the Governours are likewise commanded to banish all the Bishops formerly banished by *Constantinus*, and who had returned to their Churches in *Julianus* time. And this was as much to say that *Athanasius* must now look to himself. For this Edict was backed with threats of severe proceedings against all Governours who should be found remisse, or negligent, or indulgent. And accordingly the Governour of *Egypt* spares none, but especially forgets not *Athanasius* ; and commands from the Governour are sent to him forthwith to prepare to be gone. But the Alexandrians were provided what to do , for the noise of this tempest roared long before it came. And the Alexandrians are soon come together to advise about an answer, and with one accord tell the Governour , that he ought seriously to advise what he did , before he did determine ought against *Athanasius*. For the Governour must know that *Athanasius* is not within the compasse of the Emperours Edict ; for that
though

though he was banished by *Constantine*, yet was he also restored by *Constantius*; and when *Julian* restored all others, yet he banished *Athanasius*, and that he was restored by *Jovinian*. The Governour heard all this, yet was not satisfied. But the people resolving to make good their conclusion, told the Governour plainly they would not part with *Athanasius* upon so easie terms, as they had an intereit in him, they would maintain it, and therewith made a proffer of a general Insurrection. The Governour started hereat, and fearing a revolt; he told the people he would consider further of the matter, and receive further directions from the Emperour, before he would intermeddle further herein. And in the mean time *Athanasius* hath the Governours assurance that he shall continue at *Alexandria* without disturbance. And the upon the Tumult is quieted.

Self. 6.

Whether the Governour informed the Emperour hereof or not, I do not find. But ere long time passed, the Governours mind is to visit *Alexandria*; this either was told *Athanasius*, or else he suspects the matter upon some grounds of probability; and therefore to prevent the worst, without acquainting any one, but whom he needs must, he secretly and suddenly with-drew himself, God knows whither, and there he hid himself. By this time the Governours purposes are ripe for execution, and he comes suddenly in the night to *Alexandria*, the weather dark and stormy, but himself the greatest storme, and entring the City, with a strong guard of souldiers besets the house of *Athanasius* on all sides, and at once breaking in at the doors

doors and windows; makes a strict search throughout the same from the top to the bottome, and yet all in vain; what more? they must return fretting and grudging that they are not satisfied, as they came feeding themselves with hope of their desired prey; and then they trouble themselves at the manner of his escape, some suspecting treachery in their own councils; others that *Athanasius* is a conjurer; and had revelations from the Devil. The people on the other side as much wondered as they, some conclude that he had Revelations from God, who doubtlesse was the principal Worker in his escape. Others conclude that *Athanasius* was not led by jealousie of the Governour, so much, as of the people, whose inclinations he saw were mutinous, and if any death or bloud-shed should ensue thereupon, it might be wholly imputed to him, and that therefore he resolving not to be party in any such motions, with-drew himself. But the greatest wonder on all hands is what should become of him, of whom they can find neither scent nor foot-steps, neither in the Wildernesse nor City, neither amongst enemies nor friends. And no marvel if it be true that all this while he was hidden in his fathers Monument, for the space of four moneths, as one free amongst the dead; for who would seek for the living amongst the dead? nor is it altogether impossible, if the largeness of the Egyptian Monuments be considered, and that though for the most part it might be the place of his ordinary retirement, yet he might find opportune times to look abroad for the fresh aire. But whiles thus *Athanasius* lies hid, his

Soz. lib. 6.
cap. 13.

people mindful of their promised endeavour to pacifie the Emperours displeasure, they send to *Constantinople*, where now *Valens* the Emperour was earnest in preparation for his expedition against the *Goths*; but the Messengers prevailed nevertheless to have their suit made known to the Emperour, who was not now so angry as formerly; because *Endoxius* the fomentor of all this bitter progresse of persecution was lately dead, and was gone to give up his account to God of his eleven years bloody designe against the *Alexandrian Churches*.

C A P. XXV.

Valentinian his Constancy to the Nicene Faith. Ambrose is made Bishop of Mil-lain. The Sects of the Anthropomorphites and Messalians.

Sect. 1.

AS *Valens* the Emperour was thus destroying the Churches in the Eastern Empire; so *Valentinian* advanced the Church of God in the West. And by some it was thought that they both erred in their several Governments, the more because they yielded too much power to the Clergy on both parts, by means whereof the one was more cruel unto the Orthodox, and the other not so regardful of their defence, as esteeming himself a lay person, and the lesse concerned to intermeddle in Church-matters. And yet he would

would have done better then he did, but that he was unequally yoked with an Arian wife, who was no lesse mad against the Orthodox, then her Sister *Valens* was, and that appeared in her upholding of *Auxentius* in the See at *Millain*, which was become the Imperial City of the West; and *Rome* left to the Bishop there to order it without controul. For *Auxentius* having been Bishop of *Millain* a long time, was an earnest Arian, and did not onely maintain, *That the Son of God is unlike unto the Father, but that the Holy Ghost is also unlike the Father*; and for this cause *Athanasius* had stirred up the Bishop of *Rome* to excommunicate him; yet do what they could, they could never prevail with *Valentinian* to banish him; (for though his will was good, yet his wife was better at the will then he, though her will was worse.) But he still continued at *Millain* to his dying day. And after his death troubles ensued about his Successor, and the matter coming before *Valentinian*, he called the Bishops together, and told them that they could not be ignorant what manner of man was fitting for such a place as the See of *Millain*, where his Imperial residence was; and that he must be such a man whose doctrine and life must match one another. And by that means the people might the better learn to serve God and live in obedience under him, and in peace with each other; and therefore advised them to proceed to the election of such an one, having respect also that he must be such an one whom the Emperour might rest upon for advice, exhortation and reproof. The Bishops answered that they would be glad to understand the

Soz. lib. 6.
cap. 23, 24.

Ruffin.
Hist. lib. 2.
cap. 11.

Theod. lib.
4. cap. 5.
Soc. lib. 4.
cap. 25.

Emperours mind more particularly, by nominating the man. But the Emperour refused, alledging it was their work to determine the nomination. The Bishops go to their work, but the heat grew so great, especially from the people of the Arian part, that a tumult ensues, (as is usual in all popular elections, especially where Church matters are concerned) and *Ambrose* the Governour of *Mil-lain* under the Emperour hearing thereof, comes suddenly into the Church, and commands them to be careful to observe good order, and carry themselves gravely and soberly, as becomes their places, and the work they were about. They having heard him speak, think him a man very meet for the place, and forth-with proceeded to the work, and elected him to be their Bishop of *Mil-lain*. But he opposed it, telling them that he was not so much as one of their members, much lesse capable of such a place, as to be a Bishop; yet all is in vain, for they proceeded immediately to baptise him, which he submitted unto, for he had been hitherto but one of the *Catechumens*; although he had been an ancient disciple, and had been familiar with *Origen*, and served him as his *Ama-niensis*, and had suffered persecution for Christs cause under *Maximinus*, and upon that account had not onely been a Professor, but a Confessor about five and fifty years; and yet not baptised till now. For it seems that the times were so troublesome as that men were not over forward to take up that Honourable Badge of Baptisme, although they were capable; for even children of Believers were baptized by a known custome in the Church before

Euseb.
Hist. lib. 6.
 cap. 27.

before *Origen's* time (if we may believe him) and by tradition from the Apostolick Age. *Ambrose* baptised thus willingly, is nevertheless absolutely resolved against their Episcopal Election, so as the matter comes before the Emperour, who wondering at the conclusion, but more at the unanimity thereof, saith its Gods work, and confirms the Election without further debate, and so *Ambrose* is ordained, and the Emperour himself giving publick thanks to God. Theod. lib. 4 c. 7.

This way that *Valentinian* took in seeming to be rather ruled in Church matters, then to rule, was wisely contrived by him; considering that if he had led on the work, his wife would have led him, for she was a passionate Arian, and seeing she cannot now stop this election of *Ambrose*, she nevertheless resolves perfect enmity against him, and accordingly maintained it all her dayes; and by her wivish and womanish solicitations so hampered *Valentinian* in his proceedings, that he can neither appear to stop his brother *Valenses* rage against the Orthodox in the East, as he would have done; nor proceed against the Arians in the West, as he should have done: *Valentinian* nevertheless did somewhat in both particulars, and would have done more, but that he had to do with a willful wife, and a despitiful brother; and thus the Churches in the East must still suffer Persecution, and in the West a kind of Tolleration, which is next door thereto, until God shall otherwise provide.

A fit time this was for increase of Sects and Schismes, the Arian pride of calling the Holy Trinity

mity into question, bred a new error worse than any of the former (if one error against the Trinity may be worse than another) which was called the Sect of the *Anthropomorphites*; for whereas formerly some would have the Son of God to be like the Father in all respects, and others that the Son was like the Father in qualifications, and in the Divine Nature; and others, that he was unlike the Father in all respects; and some that God is unlike himself; and others that the Son of God assumed the body of a man without a soul; and others that he had the body and soul of man, but not the mind of man; and others that the Son of God is pure man and not God. Now these *Anthropomorphites* will have the likeness of God and the likeness of man to be one and the same thing; thereby confounding the substances of both, by a strange Exposition of those words, *Let us make man in our own Image*; whereby they will have God to be in the Image of man, and think themselves to have herein attained a high strain of understanding in this Divine Mystery above all others. Thus professing themselves wise, they become fools.

Theod.
lib. 4. c. 10.

Another Sect also arose about these times, whom I call not Hereticks. For they held forth the Doctrine of the Trinity and other Doctrines fundamental; and these were called Messalians, or as now adays Enthusiasts, a praying people, who fancied themselves directed by immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, giving much respect to dreams, laying aside bodily labour, holding their conceits propheticall, and yet did not (as the Quakers now adays) either separate from the publick

publick Congregations ; or make disturbance in them , but attended on them quietly , although they held them but as Tollerable things , doing neither good nor hurt ; although they professedly hold it not forth in plain words. They esteem Baptisme uselesse , but highly extol prayer , which if daily used , they think themselves thereby guarded against all Temptations ; for they say thereby the Devil is put to flight ; and that then the Holy Ghost comes down sensibly and manifests himself , and yet neverthelesse invisibly ; and that hereby their body is freed from trouble , and their mind from all ill inclinations ; so as there is no more need of fasting to tame the body , or of teaching and instruction ; and that they are safe against fleshly temptations , and shall fore-see things to come , and behold the Trinity with their eyes.

But these two Sects came to no great esteem amongst the Professors in any Religion ; the former being so apparantly grounded in ignorance , was opposed by both the Nicenian and Arian , for it was destructive to the principles of both. And the later as ill founded , viz. upon a meer solitary Melancholick Fancy , that no other man could conceit , but such as were inthrall'd therewith ; and therefore the Orthodox Bishops no lesse then the Arian , did both of them within their severall precincts , find means to quench in a short space both those brands of contention , and soon effected it.

CAP. XXVI.

*Achanasius his last return to Alexandria.
His Death. His Encomium. The Issue
of Arianisme. The Desolation of the
Eastern Churches.*

SOZ. I.

THE News concerning the posture of the people at *Alexandria* in relation to the Governours, endeavour to banish or else destroy *Achanasius*, coming to the Emperours notice, findes him under a load of businesse concerning his expedition against the *Goths*; and not a little troubled about his Successor before he enters into that service; for he is told of one that he knows not, whose Name begins with three Letters *T. H. E.* and hereupon his jealousie ari-
 seth against all that are named *Theodor*, *Theodoret*, *Theodosius*, *Theodatus*, *Theodulus*, and all whose Names sound that way; and as many of these as he can get into his own power, he kills without mercy, not remembring that *Maxime*, *No man can kill his Successor*; and it was verified in him; for he missed of that Great *Theodosius* which succeeded him, although he slew his Father. And though he had upon this ground taken many (as he supposed) out of his way, yet his minde is not quiet; he is afraid still his Successor is behind him, and of the *Goths* who are before him; and in all places of his Empire, the differences about Religion increase daily, do what he can; so as he hath neither peace within nor without; and thus involved

Soz. lib. 4.
cap. 15.

Soz. lib. 6.
cap. 35.

involved with troubles, he meets with *Themistius* the Philosopher, who discoursing with him concerning his troubles, amongst other things told *Valens*, That the differences in Religion concerning God ought not to trouble him overmuch, in regard the opinions amongst them were but few, in comparison with the differences amongst the Philosophers concerning God, which are above three hundred. And that God permitted these different opinions, to convince them of their own ignorance, and that they might learn thereby the more to adore His unsearchable Greatness; and this with other passages of discourse, more settled *Valens* his mind, then all the disputes of his Arian Bishops could; and yet neither one or other could search his wound to the bottom. He finds that the *Goths* have tasted so much of the sweetness of *Thracia*, as they will not draw off upon easie terms; and that its necessary to leave his people quiet at home, and to speak them fair; and therefore he tacks about, and relents towards *Athanasius*, and resolves to steer a more even course in the crosse currents of opinions in Religion, to please the people till the waves be more calme. Some think that the Emperours conscience was touched with the excellency of *Athanasius* his person, as also of the excellencies of the persons of some others; and therefore in all these flames of persecutions, he spared not onely him, but divers others of chief note; such as were *Basil* the Great, *Paulinus*, *Epiphanius*, *Hillary*, *Nazianzen*, and others; and more particularly after some demur about the affairs at *Alexandria* he sent his Letters of Grace to *Athanasius*, declaring that by his

Soc. lib. 4.
cap. 27.

Soz. lib. 6.
cap. 36.

Soz. lib. 6.
cap. 12.

Soc. lib. 4.
cap. 16.

his Edicts he meant not any hurt to him, and requiring him to return to the Church as *Alexandria* again.

Self. 2.

And thus *Athanasius* appears again in *Alexandria*, and remains there in peace during the rest of his dayes; which was about two or three years, during all which time the *Alexandrian* Churches had rest for his sake, when as the *Arian* rages continued in other places. And although it might well consist with *Athanasius* his age to retire his mind to a contemplative life after all these turmoils thus long endured, and that it might be judged discretion for him so to do; yet according to the strength of his weak body, his spirit still moves outward, and he acts as far as he can in the publick care of the Churches, by holding correspondency with the Bishop of *Rome*, with *Basil*, *Nazianzen*, and others, and wrote Letters of advice to the *African* Churches, endeavouring to vindicate the *Nicene* Faith, and confirm them therein; and therein he tells them that he had prevailed with the Bishop of *Rome* (whom he calls his brother) to depose *Auxentius* Bishop of *Millain*. He also wrote other Letters at the instance of *Basil* to the *Asian* Churches, with which he also sent *Peter* (who afterward succeeded *Athanasius* in *Alexandria*) by whose endeavour and advice of *Athanasius*, many of the *Orthodox* Christians by persecution scattered abroad, were re-united, and such who through weaknesse had been ensnared by the *Arian* power, were again reduced into Church Communion, upon renewing of their Profession of the *Nicene* Faith; besides *Athanasius* wrote divers other Epistles, extant amongst

Athan.
Epist. ad
African.

mongst his other Works upon the like Subject. All which do sufficiently manifest, that he held constant to the Death that Doctrine which in his Life he had so stoutly vindicated. And doubtlesse there were divers other actions of *Athanasius*, which (if God had so seen meet) might have been worthy to be recorded, which are by the Historians buried in silence, either for want of information at such a distance, or as things not so regardable, in regard they no wayes concerned his Sufferings; as if when he ceased to suffer, he ceased to live; and therefore I can add no more.

Nevertheless I must add this, that before *Athanasius* died, he had the honour to out-live all his persecutors, *Constantinus*, *Julian*, *Arius*, *Acitius*, *Eusebius*, *Macedonius*, *Eudoxius*, *Ursatius*, *Valens*, *Eronius*, besides *George* and *Gregory*, *Athanasius* his Corrivalls in *Alexandria*, and divers of the Governours in *Egypt* and *Alexandria*. And in a manner became the Conquerour of the rage and malice of his enemies that remained alive, who were even weary of their own hatred. God also witnessing from Heaven his displeasure against that generation; by stupendious Inundations, Earthquakes, Stormy Tempests of Thunder, Wind, and Hail, Pestilences, hideous Famines, in all which innumerable multitudes of people perished: And which was worst of all, the dreadful Plague of Ignorance invaded the common sort of Professors; in comparison whereof *Athanasius* his private troubles scarce touched him; for he said of them, *Mihi nulla est cura. I regard them not, for I know, yea am assured, that for such as do suffer, a reward is promised by God.* Thus

The Life of Athanasius.

Self. 3.

Nazian.
Encom.
Athan.

Thus lived and died Great *Athanasius* in a good old age, and was gathered to his Fathers the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs; more honoured by tears at his departure out of this World, then by all the Acclamations of the people at his several returns from banishment to *Alexandria*; but most of all in his Tomb, the minds and hearts of all good and learned men in the perpetuity of an honourable Name, and not a little in this Encomium framed by so worthy a man as *Gregory Nazianzen* was.

Nazian.
Encom.
Athan.Basil. Epist.
48, 51.

Athanasius was the first second to the Apostles; a Pillar to hold forth the Mystery of Godliness against spiritual wickednesses in high places, meek and gentle, seldome or never angry, and for that cause not unacceptable to his enemies, yet of a brave spirit, especially in danger; free from ambition, yet of excellent parts, both for learning and prudence; compassionate, yet not passionate; constant to his principles, yet of a reconciling spirit; wise to observe occasions, and ready to improve them; vigilant in his place at *Alexandria*, and not idle, no, not in the wilderness; his Doctrine accepted of by the Churches, and his Confession of the Faith a Rule of theirs, even till this day; His Personage was comely, his Countenance Angelical; his Gesture affable and courteous, yet grave: He was active like a Bishop, holy as a Monk, yet not austere. His speech was proper, short and acute, his delivery pleasing. His praises were esteemed, because advised; his reproofs regarded, because without Gall; And it was part of his happiness, that he was at his entry the onely Great

Great Champion of the Truth; but at his departure, that he left divers, viz. *Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Gregory Nissen, Ambrose, Epiphanius, Hilary, and Cyril* were in his time, and *Augustin* not far behind. Two of these, viz. *Nazianzen* and *Basil*, were not onely beholders of his light, but admirers. So as though the fourth Century grew dark with errors, yet it had many brave Stars, whose light remaineth still Orient, notwithstanding the brightnesse of this day that we all pretend unto.

Athanasius now dead, *Arianisme* now lords it alone at *Alexandria*; and persecution breaks in like a Torrent, no man can stand before it; the Churches in the City and Countrey are swallowed up; the flood stops not there, but breaks even as it were out of the World into the Wildernesse amongst the Monks, where finding a shore beyond which it cannot go, it rages most of all, and so continued, till the Goths paid the debt of the people of God, by the death of the Emperour *Valens*, somewhat like that of *Julian*, saving that after his wounds received in the battel, with much ado he gained into a Town for succour, and there together with the Town was by the pursuing Goths burnt alive.

Self. 4.

Soz. lib. 6.
cap. 19, 20.

Soz. lib. 6.
cap. 47.

Thus the Goths gave a deadly wound to the *Arian* interest in the Eastern Empire. For *Gratian* succeeded *Valentinian* in the West, and being Just and Orthodox, advanced and established brave *Theodosius* in the East, who was no lesse Orthodox and Just then himself; and from whom the Succession

Self. 5.

Soz. lib. 6.
cap. 37.

Evagr.
Hist. lib. 2.
cap. 1. &
lib. 4. c. 14.

Succession in the East was continued for the space of one hundred and twenty years, in a continual race of Emperours; whereof not one would protect the Arians, and some of them utterly rejected them, even until the time of the Emperour *Anastatius*. But the Goths in some measure gave Arianisme a salve; for as they had gained in *Valens* his time the Arian Doctrine, or rather were gained by it; so now the Hunnes having invaded the Goths, and turned them out of doors, Arianisme (being now discountenanced by the Eastern Emperours) like a Renegado shrowding itself under the Gothaick Wings, shifted from place to place with them, casting their spawn as they went in all Countries even to *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Rome* itself. And after them the Vandals following in their Voyage into *Affrick*, meet with these wandring opinions by the way, and carry them along with them, as the Dannites did their Religion from the house of *Mica*; and thus for the space of eighty years both Goths and Vandals, like Souldiers of the Devils Brigade, havock and spoil not onely the dwellings and estates, but even the consciences and souls of the famous West and Affrican Churches, with all manner of Tyranny; in the heat whereof the Eastern Churches also after a long time of rest meet now with as ill measure under *Anastatius* an Euty-chian Emperour, during the continuance of his Raigh.

A sad age this was now grown; being nigh the expiring of the fourth Century, wherein the Church of God finds no refuge from the rage of persecuti-on, no not in the Wildernesse, nor in any Nation under

under Heaven. For the Kings of *Italy, Spain, and France*, are Arians, and the Affrican Kings likewise. The Franks, Brittish, and German Kings are Pagans, and the people generally, although God had his Church amongst them. The Eastern Churches are all under an Apostate Emperour, who commonly are worse for their Apostacy, then those that never owned the truth. And yet God found out such hiding places, that his Church was not destroyed nor diminished thereby, but rather increased; for within twenty years we find mention of six Councils at *Rome*, and five Councils more in other places of the West; and in the East *Anastatius* the Apostate Emperour dying, the Government falls to *Justinus*, under whom the Churches recovered their former liberty as long as the Empire it self lasted. And *Justinian* his Successor, by his Captains *Belisarius* and *Narses* both freed *Africk* from the Vandals, and *Italy* from the Goths and set the Orthodox Churches at liberty. After which the Eastern Empire coming to *Phocas*, he advanced the Roman See above all the Churches, and the influence of that See for the space of a hundred years following blasted the Arians; till the Francks gaining the Imperial power in the West under the Line of *Charlemaine*, and after them the Saxon and German Emperours, to whom the Western Empire devolved from the Francks; all of them as Sons of the Church of *Rome*, joyned their Civil Power with his Ecclesiastical Power, in suppressing the Arians in all places. So as from the time of *Justinian* the Emperour, the Arian interest is scarce mentioned in Story. One chief

cause

Bin. Conc.

Evang. Hist.
lib. 4. cap.
16, 20, 23.

cause whereof was the want of countenance from the Civil Power.

Self. 6.

A second cause hereof, and yet the more principal, was the preaching of the Gospel. For although that was in no great favour generally with the Civil Power, yet the bare tolleration of the same permitted it to work out its own way; and as the Emperour *Valens* had propagated Arianisme amongst the Goths on the one side, so on the other after he was dead, the Eastern Churches by the advice of *Chrysostome* from the East, and the Brittish and other Churches from the West (after the tide of the Goths was past) sent preachers of the Orthodox Doctrine amongst those Northern and Eastern Nations, by means whereof the Gospel coming amongst others to the Burgundians, then oppressed by the Hunnes, they received it, and by marriage of one of their Ladies to *Clodoveus*, one of the Line of the Franks it came to *Gharlemain*; and thus the conquered conquering the Conquerour, even the Arian Kings themselves convinced by the Gospel, proved real friends to the Orthodox Churches, and others not convinced, yet for their own peace sake, are contented to connive at the liberty of the same.

Theod.
lib. 5. c. 31.

Naucler.
Hist. V. l. 2.
Gen. 17.

Self. 7.

Soz. lib. 7.
cap. 20.

A third cause of the subversion of the Arian Schisme was their own divisions. For besides the several Sects thereof in the life time of *Achanasius*, *Ennomius* one of highest esteem amongst them, dying soon after, his disciples are divided in their opinions; some affirming with *Ennomius*, *That the Son of God is unlike the Father*, and others reaching

Soz. lib. 5.
cap. 22, 23

reaching a strain beyond that, affirm, *That God is not always like Himself*; and hereupon one Schisme more arises. Another Schisme after this appeared upon slighter grounds; for one of the Members of their Church being esteemed to have more excellent parts then the Eunomian Bishop had, the Bishop (fearing his light would be darkened) takes occasion of displeasure at him, and excommunicated him; the excommunicate member hereupon gains a Sect, and maintains another Schisme. A third Schisme further grows up upon another difference in opinion; for some of them teach, *That God was not to be called Father, before Christ was born*; these are also excommunicated by others, and gather into another Congregation. And thus Sects multiply and maintain Schisme with that asperity that they spare not one another so far as their power can extend: *Separation upon unwarrantable grounds, can breed naught else but Schisme, and he that seeketh comfort therein, will be deceived thereby.*

Soz. lib. 7.
cap. 17.

Lastly, Arianisme received no small blow from other Heresies that would not consist with it, and all of them gathering Churches out of the Arian Churches; as they had formerly robbed the Orthodox Churches, to make up their own: Such were the Pricillianists, Pelagians, Nestorians, Eutychians besides other petit Sects bred up under them. And last of all, and above all the rest, came two grand Sects, the one in the East and the other in the West; and these two devoured all the rest. That in the West was the Papal power in

Plar. Vit.
Bonifac. 3.

Zonar.
Tom. 3. in
Vit. Herac.

Naucier.
Vol. 2. Gen.
32. & 34.

the Roman See, which came precariously, and by a kind of cheat, about the beginning of the Sixth Century, at which time the Roman Bishop had obtained of the Emperour of the East to be the Universal Bishop, and thereby gained a high seat in the consciences of men, and whiles they are highly esteemed for their service against *Arius*, in defence of the God-Head of the Son of God, they cunningly slip themselves into co-partnership with the Son of God in all his Offices, and were countenanced by the Imperial Power, till they had subdued both Emperour and all under themselves. The other Sect arose in the Eastern Churches, about twenty years after the former, in the Reign of *Heraclius*, who succeeded *Phocas*, but this comes in with a force; and swallowed up not onely the seven famous Churches of *Asia*, but all other Churches both of *Asia* and *Affrica*, bringing with them a rabble of doctrines gathered out of all religions, all of them patronized by *Mahomet*, and purposely contrived by the Devil; not onely against the Natures and Offices of Christ, but against the Trinity. These first made way into the Empire by the Sarazens Sword, and held the power there by the space of six or seven hundred years. And after them they obtained the power of the Turkish Sword, which conquered not onely what the Sarazens had in *Asia* and *Affrica*, but gained also a great part of *Europe*, and swallowing up the Christian Churches in those places, left scarcely the Name of Christianity remaining; saving about eight or nine poor Sects of Christians, who live in miserable slavery under them. And thus the

the once famous Eastern Churches have made a sad and lamentable account of their Progress from Unity to Separation, from thence to Schisme, to Enmity, thence to Persecution, and lastly to Heathenisme. And the Christian Magistrate in a restless Tolleration, from an Imperial Power to a miserable servitude.

— *En qua discordia civeis
Perduxit miseros ! En queis consecimus agros !*

F I N I S.

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cap. 19.

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